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Freemantle

Gazetteer of Iuri Province



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GAZETTEER
OF
MURI
PROVINCE

(Up to December, 1919).

EDITED BY
J. M. FREMANTLE.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION	1
II. PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION	2
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS	2
MUNSHI	2
AREA	2
DISTRICTS AND VILLAGES	3
III. HISTORY	4-52
A. THE NIGER COMPANY ON THE BENUE	4-11
EARLY ARRIVAL AND GENERAL	4
STAFF	5
POLICY	5
MURI COMPLICATIONS	6
FOREIGN INTRIGUES	6
MILITARY OPERATIONS	8
1. JIBU	8
2. KACHELLA	8
3. WASE	9
4. SUNTAI	9
5. ARAFU	10
6. DANKORO	10
7. WURRIO	11
8. MONTOL	11
B. EXTRACTS FROM NIGER COMPANY RECORDS	11-16
JIBU	11
KACHELLA	11
DANKORO	13
WASE	14
PROCLAMATION AT IBI	15
VISIT TO EMIR OF MURI	15
C. MURI DIVISION	16-28
MURI EMIRATE	17
1. BAKUNDI DISTRICT	20
2. DAKKA DISTRICT	21
3. GASSOL DISTRICT	22
4. JALINGO DISTRICT	23
5. KWONA DISTRICT	23
MUMUYE	24

MURI DIVISION— <i>continued</i> .	
6. LAU	25
7. MURI DISTRICT	25
8. MUTUM BIU DISTRICT	26
9. WURKUM DISTRICT	27
D. IBI DIVISION	28-42
1. IBI DISTRICT	28
WURBO ABORIGINES	29
DISTRICTS ABSORBED—	
A. DAMPER	29
B. JIBU	31
C. BANTAJI	31
2. WUKARI DISTRICT	32
A. KOROROFI	32
B. WUKARI	34
3. TAKUM DISTRICT	39
4. DONGA DISTRICT	41
SUNTAI	42
E. TSHENDAM DIVISION	43-52
1. ANKWE DISTRICT	43
DISTRICTS ABSORBED—	
A. BWOL	46
B. DIMMUK	46
C. GWOROM	46
D. MIRIAM	46
E. ANKWE ANGAKAS	46
F. MONTOL	46
G. KWOLLA	47
2. WASE DISTRICT	47
DISTRICTS ABSORBED—	
A. YERGAM	50
B. GARKAWA	51
3. KASSAN CHIKKI DISTRICT	52
IV. INDUSTRIES	53
A. SALT	53
B. ANTIMONY	54
V. TOWNS	56

VI.	POPULATION	58
	A. EUROPEAN	58
	B. NATIVE	58
VII.	ROADS	59
	PRINCIPAL TRADE ROUTES	59
	MINOR TRADE ROUTES	59
	MILEAGE	60
VIII.	RESIDENTS	62
IX.	REVENUE	63
	A. GOVERNMENT	63
	CHART	63
	B. TOTAL	63
X.	TAXATION	64
XI.	NATIVE TREASURIES	65
	CHART	65
XII.	NATIVE ADMINISTRATION STAFF	66
XIII.	MISCELLANEOUS	67-72
	A. MISSIONS	67
	B. NATIVE COURTS	67
	C. TAXES NO LONGER ENFORCED	68
	D. TELEGRAPH	68
	E. THE WAR	69
	APPENDIX—EXTRACT FROM NORTHERN NIGERIA REPORT FOR 1904	73
	INDEX	75

Muri Province.

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

Muri Province, as now constituted, is of irregular shape, with an extreme length of 200 miles from east to west. It is bounded on the north by Bauchi Province, on the east by Yola Province, on the south by the Cameroons, and on the west by Munshi and Nassarawa Provinces. The River Benue, which flows from north-east to south-west, passes right through it, leaving about one-third on the north or right bank. The chief tributaries flowing from the north are the Wase, Shemanka, and Ankwe rivers, all in Ibi Division, while from the south are the Taraba river, traversing the Muri Division past Bakundi, and the Donga river (with its tributary, the Suntai or Bantaji) in Ibi Division, both of which rise in the Cameroon Mountains and are navigable by small, light-draught steamers for some five months in the year. The Benue Valley, in which marine fossils have been found, is extremely low-lying, with extensive swamps. Road construction is consequently a matter of some difficulty, especially as little stone is available.

Foot-hills from the Bauchi plateau, with peaks Bogolon and Matar-Fada rising to 4,400 feet and 3,357 feet respectively, lie within the northern edge of the Province in the Montol and neighbouring districts of the Ibi Division. Further east are the Wurkum and Tangale hills in Muri Division, and in the south of Ibi Division are the Takum hills, which rise to some 2,000 feet (Markam peak 2,395 feet). In Muri Division are the Munnuye hills, which stretch into the mountainous country of the Cameroons.

II. PROVINCIAL ORGANISATION.

On 1st January, 1900, when the Government took over the administration from the Royal Niger Company, the present Province of Muri formed part of the "Upper Benue" Province under Mr. W. P. Hewby, C.M.G.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.—In 1904 the Muri Province consisted of three Administrative Divisions.

(a) Lau, name changed to Muri in 1915. The station was at Lau till 1910, then at Mutum Bin, and moved again to Jalingo in 1916, these changes corresponding with the transfer of the Emir of Muri's capital. The Muri Division is co-extensive with the Emirate, which consists of nine districts.

(b) Amar.—Most of this Division was absorbed in Ibi Division in 1910, when the station of Amar was abandoned.

(c) Ibi, based on Ibi.—In 1909 there was formed for a time a separate administrative district, Kwolla, based on Garkawa, comprising most of the districts north of the Benue then 15 in number, the total in Ibi Division being 25. These 25 have gradually been reorganized into seven districts, three on the north bank of the Benue, four on the south bank. In recent years touring centres have been made at Tshendam (north bank) and Wukari (south bank) and Ibi nominally divided into two Divisions, *viz.*, Tshendam and Ibi. In 1913 the Sensanni district was transferred from Ibi Division to Muri Emirate, *i.e.*, to Lau Division.

MUNSHI.—The Munshis were gradually absorbed into the Muri Provincial Administration, effective administration—as gauged by the development of taxation—being completed in 1914, in which year also a Munshi area of 2,000 square miles hitherto in the Obudu district (Southern Provinces) was transferred to Muri Province. The total Munshi area, roughly 10,000 square miles, was administered from Abinsi and Katsina Ala, originally as one Division (with headquarters at Abinsi), later as two separate Divisions. The whole area was transferred from Muri Province in 1918 and absorbed into the Bassa-Munshi (now Munshi) Province.

AREA.—The area of the Province is now 19,724 square miles, Muri Division 10,120, Ibi-Tshendam 9,604. At the close of the Cameroon campaign the Gashaka district, 5,600 square miles, was added to Muri Division, and Kentu, 1,000 square miles, to Ibi, until transferred to Yola and Cameroon Provinces respectively in August, 1917. During that period, with the 10,000 square miles of Munshi, the total area of the Province was over 36,000 square miles.

DISTRICTS AND VILLAGES.—As shown above, the Province consists of three Administrative Divisions and 16 districts. These include 1,507 villages, as under:—

MURI DIVISION.

MURI EMIRATE.

Bakundi District	...	...	...	...	...	212 villages.
Dakka „	...	...	...	...	...	83 „
Gassol „	...	...	...	...	...	131 „
Jalingo „	...	...	...	...	...	132 „
Kwona „	...	...	...	...	...	72 „
Lau „	...	...	...	...	...	60 „
Muri „	...	...	...	...	...	126 „
Mutum Bui „	...	...	...	...	...	101 „
Warkum „	...	...	...	...	...	117 „
TOTAL					...	<u>1,034</u> „

IBI DIVISION.

Donga District	...	...	...	...	...	47 villages.
Ibi „	...	...	...	...	...	20 „
Takum „	...	...	...	...	...	47 „
Wakari „	...	...	...	...	...	35 „
Total					...	<u>149</u> „

TSHENDAM DIVISION.

Ankwe District	...	...	...	...	...	219 villages.
Kasan Chikki District	...	...	...	...	...	42 „
Wase District	...	...	...	...	...	63 „
TOTAL					...	<u>324</u> „

III. HISTORY.

The legendary and early history, compiled by Mr. C. E. Boyd, will be found in the detailed history of each district. The notes on the Niger Company's early operations on the Benue, written by Mr. W. P. Hewby, C.M.G., form a separate section, followed by extracts from the Company's records. Events since 1900 are included in the history of each district or in the general account of the Administrative Divisions and of the Province.

A.—THE NIGER COMPANY OF THE BENUE.

NOTE.—Descriptions of sundry activities and operations in these notes and in the Niger Company records—Basshema (Yola), Dama (Munshi), Barua and Bafum (Cameroons), Kentu rubber camp, and others—have been excluded, being out of the sphere of Muri Province.

EARLY ARRIVAL AND GENERAL.—Prior to 1883, there had been a trading station at Loko, but it was in that year that the National African Company, Limited, began to exploit the commercial possibilities of the river. Mr. William Wallace (knighted later under Government) was the agent in charge of the venture, and in the flood season he towed up to Ibi a wooden sailing-ship hulk, the "Emily Watters," as a base of operations. With the administrative centre at Ibi, various minor stations on the river were established in the next few years, extending as far up as Garua and Bubangidda (Rei Buba), and at Katsina Ala, Donga, and Bakundi on the southern affluents. On the arrangement of the Anglo-German "spheres of influence," the Company withdrew their stations above Yola, which became a port of entry to the Niger territories. These advanced posts, following the custom of the earlier insecure days of the oil rivers, partly for security, partly for mobility in an experiment, and in Adamawa, owing to the Emir's objection up to 1896 to allowing foreigners a *pied à terre*, often consisted only of a hulk on the river, which might be a spare steamer that would otherwise have been "laid up" for the dry season in the Delta. In 1889 two steel hulks, specially built for taking the ground in the dry season, were sent out from England, and these for some years formed the floating stations at Garua and in the Bassama district.

In addition to several stations in the Munshi district, a mining-camp was formed at Arufu, where in 1885 a considerable pocket of silver was discovered and worked out. The Gongila river was not explored until late in 1895, when Lieut. Arnold visited Shillen in a barge; and the first steamer went up to the same place in September, 1897. In 1897-8 an inland station was maintained at Kentu, on the Anglo-German border south of Ibi, as a rubber-development camp.

In 1886, Sir George Goldie (who, as Mr. G. D. Goldie-Taubman, had been the leading spirit in the National African Company (1882) and its predecessor, the United African Company (1879)), having bought out or absorbed the two French Companies and one English firm that offered competition on the Niger, obtained a Charter for the Company, which then became the Royal Niger Company until the abrogation on January 1st, 1900; and henceforth the Company, instead of having to depend for its security upon the audacity of its agents and (in the Lower Niger) the rare visit of a gunboat, had at its disposal a disciplined force under British officers entitled the Royal Niger Constabulary, a permanent garrison of whom, varying at times in strength from 40 to 300 men, was maintained at Ibi.

STAFF.—MR. W. Wallace was in charge of the Company's interests on the Benue until 1887, when Mr. C. W. McIntosh (younger brother of "the intrepid McIntosh" referred to by Mockler Ferryman) became "Senior Executive Officer" for the districts on this river. This (latter) officer made a journey in 1888-9 to Bauchi with some diplomatic success; and another to Kuka in 1890-1 which was a diplomatic failure.

In 1892, following a visit of inspection to Ibi by the Governor of the Company, the districts and their establishments were reorganised and reduced, and outlying stations closed down; and in succession to Mr. A. J. Hill and Mr. F. J. Spink, Mr. W. P. Hewby represented the Company from 1894 to 1899 as their chief agent and Senior Executive Officer on the Benue.

POLICY.—The administrative policy of the Company, with a comparatively small staff of energetic young men, largely engrossed in commercial development, was modest and simple. Their aim was to maintain friendly relations with the important Mohammedan chiefs, while keeping trade-routes open by any means feasible; and to put a stop to, or at any rate to check, slave-raiding among the pagans on the south bank of the Benue below the Katsina River by north-bank Mohammedans, chiefly Nassarawa.

In the dry season of 1893-4 a party of four Arabs under Sherif Mohammed Sala arrived on the Benue (through the Niger Coast Protectorate), on a special mission from the Egyptian Government to Rabeh, the recent invader and conqueror of Bornu. After months of delay at Yola, where the Emir Zuberu refused to adopt a straightforward policy and detained them on one pretext or another, they were brought back to Ibi, and were finally despatched from Amar to Bauchi in May, 1895, reaching their destination at Dikoa in due course.

In 1895, some attempt was made by Rabeh in Dikoa to open up communication with the Company. His messengers arrived at Lau, and a caravan of ivory from Bornu got as far as Ashaka on the Gongila river. Contact with this caravan was found impossible in this and the next year; and it being found that Rabeh's need was for little but gunpowder, the overtures came to nothing.

MURI COMPLICATIONS.—The situation with the Emir Mohamma Nya in 1890 was becoming difficult. He saw the Company's authority steadily growing at Ibi and elsewhere; his mistrust of the semi-independent towns of his relatives on the Taraba was increasing and his precarious control over Jibu, who declined to lead a peaceable life, came to an end (see p. 8) when this town was captured the third time, in the absence of its chief and without the Emir's consent. Relations then (1891) became so strained that the Company's small stations at Lau, Kunini, and Mairanoa (Mainarewa), were sacked by the Emir, and friendly intercourse ceased.

The Company's agent visited the Emir at Jalingu in 1895 (see p. 15) and a rapprochement was effected; but little real good resulted, as Nya really required little but a supply of fire-arms and freedom to use them against the south-bank pagans and his kinsmen on the Taraba. Finally the Company, who in 1895 appointed the new chief at Ibi (see p. 15) without any reference to the Emir, refused to allow recognition of Muri's authority west of the Donga river. Nya died in June, 1896; and Shishi, the last chief to occupy Jibu, who had been very quiet for the past two years, was murdered in September of the same year.

Hassan, the Yerima, succeeded to the Emirate with the approval and moral support of the Company. Receiving at Jalingu late in 1898 from the Sokoto envoy the confirmation of his appointment, the Emir crossed the Benue at the end of November, 1898, and completely routed at Wuzu the rival combination of Wurio and Haman (the Yerima), a conspiracy that had caused serious unrest for two years and in which Gassol wisely refrained from active participation.

It is worthy of record that this Emir Hassan on more than one occasion (in 1896 and 1900), in circumstances of the basest treachery, made successful enslaving scoops of those of the Kwona people who had preferred to live in exile after their town reduction by Mizon and of some of the Munuve clans who "followed" them.

FOREIGN INTRIGUES.—During the '80's and '90's there were several foreign travellers who journeyed through the Benue districts in the interests of their governments, and more or less "played the game." Prominent among these were Flegel, Maistre, Passarge, Morgen, and others, of whom perhaps the patriotic efforts of little, fragile-bodied Herr Flegel yielded the largest geographical results.

The traveller who earned the greatest notoriety in these years was M. Louis Mizon, lieutenant de vaisseau in the French navy. This officer late in 1890, being dropped in Forcados by a French gunboat, proceeded up the Niger waterways with one white companion and several natives in a small steel steam cutter towing three Berthon boats. Attacked in the Delta by the Patanis, he owed probably his life and certainly the safety of most of his

equipment (he lost one boat), to the good offices of the Company's agent, Mr. E. A. Bedford, the Delta Senior Executive Officer, who went down to his aid from Agberi. After a tedious journey with many delays, Lieut. Mizon arrived in his cutter at Yola in 1891, and travelled thence overland to the French Congo, having, largely with the Company's friendly assistance, explored his ground and formed his plans for his next move.

Receiving influential backing in Paris, Mizon arrived in the wet season of 1892 on the Niger with two steamers. One of these was fitted out as a commercial or trading craft, and the other carried an unusual complement of French officers and arms. The contents of both boats were declared "in transit" out through the Niger Company's territories. Proceeding up the Benue on the flood, both vessels grounded near Jiru in the centre of the Muri district, and on the usual rapid fall of the river in September they became fixtures for the year.

There was some dissatisfaction among Mizon's staff, and his medical officer, Ward, and an engineer named Vaughan, both Englishmen, left the expedition by canoe for the coast.

Mizon established relations with the Emir of Muri, started some small trading posts, headed his letter paper "The French Protectorate of Muri," freely distributed arms of precision to various officials of the Emir's (as he did later also at Yola), and actually landed men and two field-pieces, with which he joined the Emir in an attack upon the pagan town of Kwona, which he shelled, and thereby broke a town which the Fulani had vainly for six years attempted to reduce (see p. 24).

On his vessels floating at the end of July, 1893, Mizon went up to Yola. Armed with guns and constabulary, one of the larger steamers of the river fleet took station in the mouth of the Benue at the junction near Lokoja, while Mr. Wallace, in August, followed up to Yola in the steamer "Nupe" equally prepared for emergencies. Detailed records are not available of the negotiations between the Company's agent, the Frenchman, and the Emir of Adamawa, but by the middle of September the position remained unchanged. No definite action being taken by either side, Mizon had to decide, with the river beginning its dry season fall, how many more days he dared remain there. He finally left his commercial ship at anchor off Yola, as a floating French station in Adamawa, and proceeded down the river, whereupon Mr. Wallace in the "Nupe" seized the French vessel and brought her down to Lokoja for confiscation.

The French party left the Niger in their remaining vessel, and the "Mission Mizon" was at an end, except that Mizon had been able to persuade the Emir at Yola to allow him to leave there half a dozen Senegalese and Arabs, with an Algerian Zouave interpreter (killed later in Gentil's operations against Rabeh), to whom he was able for two or three years to refer in the press as "the French post at Yola."

An unscrupulous adventurer (who died some years later in Madagascar), Mizon's line of policy was to dispute the validity of the formal treaties that the Company held with the Emirs of Adamawa and Muri, as well as with their suzerain; and there is little doubt that his intrigues on his first journey up the Benue largely contributed to the breach between Muri and the Company's agent at Ibi in 1891.

MILITARY OPERATIONS.—1. *Jibu*, 1884, 1888, 1891.—In the first year at Ibi it was found necessary to administer a lesson to Jibu, a piratically-disposed, insubordinate vassal of Muri at the mouth of the Donga River, who was disinclined to view with complacency the free passage to Ibi of ivory caravans from the Congo districts that he had been accustomed to bleed; and on the flood of September, 1884, the town was shelled from the river and carried by assault by landing parties from the s.s. "Kano," led by Mr. Wallace and two or three European subordinates, a bold enterprise in those days with no sort of trained force.

Much the same causes again led to a more thorough attack upon Jibu in the wet season of 1888, when a constabulary force from Asaba, then headquarters, under the Commandant Captain Seymour Saulez, in two steamers, captured the town. The Emir of Muri, Mohamma Nya, was present at this operation, the first by Constabulary on the Benue. The chief, Duna, was eventually deported and died later at Asaba.

Jibu, under Shishi, proved a continual annoyance, and a base for marauding gangs about the roads which were quite unsafe for peaceable traffic with Ibi. Accordingly in the dry season of 1890-1 Jibu was attacked and captured for the third and last time by a constabulary force marching from Ibi. (See p. 11.) The population was driven out and the town occupied for some months by a Constabulary detachment under Captain G. W. Moloney, who built a small redoubt in the centre of it, being subject to irregular night attacks, and being, as he said, "unable to hold a 4,000-yard front with fifty men." (This was the officer who subsequently had the misfortune to be crippled for life in the Brass raid on Akassa in 1895, and to be murdered at Keffi in 1902.) The Dampar refugees were given the chance to inhabit the town and farm the land, but their timid spirit was unequal to the task of defying Shishi's braves, and Jibu was kept a deserted and banned town until 1898, when Audi, "Tafida" of Yakola, was invited by the Company to settle there and try to repopulate a town that once contained probably some 5,000 inhabitants. The expelled chief, Shishi, formed a camp between the Donga and Taraba rivers, where he remained a danger to the neighbourhood for two or three years.

2. *Kachella, Takum-Munshi*, 1895-6.—Kachella, a stout-hearted renegade of the Takum ruling family in 1894 had become a danger to caravans on the routes south of Ibi, and was even threatening Takum itself from Duchin Zenua and his stockaded retreat among

the Munshis in the bush some forty miles west of Takum. A Constabulary force from Ibi, under Lieutenant Arnold, in August, 1895, attacked Kachella's camp, but failed to take it. (See p. 12.) In July, 1896, a force left Ibi under Lieut. Festing, with Lieut. Parker and Dr. Cargill, for Kachella's, which was taken by assault and destroyed and Kachella himself killed, Lieut. Parker being severely wounded by arrows in the assault of the stockade.

3. *Wase*, 1898.—A vassal of Bauchi, with whom the Company desired to keep on good terms, the chief of Wase, known locally as Kobri, Sarkin Duchi, was a truculent overbearing person of considerable prestige, with whom the Senior Executive Officer at Ibi had no dealings. The defection of Dampar in 1890 had always rankled; and the visit on a friendly mission of some envoys from the Duguri tribe (50 miles north-east of Wase) to the Company's agent in July, 1898, led Wase to post a patrol at Finu and to order the headman of Amar to detain the envoys, who in August were on their return journey. Amar immediately reported his dilemma to Ibi.

Captain Parker at once left by water (see also p. 14) with 40 men to guarantee Amar, and on arrival there he found that Kobri in person with 80 mounted men on August 29th had made a raid upon Amar. This small village was defended by four native soldiers (two Constabulary men and two men of the newly-formed West African Frontier Force), who happened to have just arrived on their return from a recruiting mission in Bauchi. The Wase raiders, believing that Amar was held in force by troops, had retired with a number of captives, leaving several of their men and horses dead along the route.

On this report the Company's agent without loss of time joined Captain Parker at Amar with reinforcements, and the column marched to Wase. Early in the attack on the town wall on September 9th, Captain Parker received an arrow in the head, and the wall was finally rushed and the town taken by Lieutenant Skinner of the constabulary and Lieutenant Bryan of the W.A.F.F. with 37 men.

Kobri and the population fled, but the chief was killed next day by one of his nephews. A letter was sent to Bauchi informing him of the facts, and recommending the appointment of the Ubandoma Mahoma as chief, which the Emir made.

4. *Santai*, 1899.—The Sarkin Kudu, the weak and unsatisfactory chief of Bakundi, continually complained of the disaffection of his subordinate villages, and frequently requested the Company's permission to coerce them. At the beginning of 1899 his authority in Bakundi was threatened, and Captain H. W. E. Parker with 40 men of the Ibi Constabulary detachment was sent on patrol duty to Bakundi, not to undertake any definite operation or to take undue risks, but by way of demonstration to the countryside that the Sarkin Kudu was in accord with the Company, with whose approval he would enforce his just rights.

In Captain Parker's judgment it was advisable for him to accompany this chief in making a demonstration at Suntai (Bakundi's nominal vassal), where on arrival they were greeted with a shower of arrows from the town wall. This was too much for the Constabulary officer who advanced upon the wall with his inadequate force. He immediately had two men killed and half-a-dozen wounded; and this gallant young officer of the South Wales Borderers who had previously been severely wounded at Kachella's, Wase, and Bassama, and who had more than once encountered poisoned-arrow attacks with no medical assistance beyond that of his Ijoh body-servant standing by attending to the casualties in the ranks with a razor and a bottle of carbolic acid, met his death from a spear wound on March 17th, 1899, in the ditch of the Suntai wall, while in the act of giving a "leg up" to the top of the wall to the longest man he had got.

The patrol carried their dead officer off in a hammock and returned to Ibi.

This disaster decided the Company that Suntai would have to be taken, and a constabulary force later left Ibi for this purpose, composed of Captain W. de L. Williams, Hants. Regt., Lieut. C. E. Rose, Life Guards, Lieut. W. A. G. Williams, 24th Regt., and Dr. B. S. Wills with a 7-pdr. gun, a Maxim gun, and 100 rank and file. The column reached Suntai on June 21st, and the next day this little town put up a most determined fight. The wall everywhere was found quite unclimbable, and for some hours it was being breached at the only point that could be enfiladed, the defenders in the most daring manner attempting repairs under Maxim-fire. In the assault over the breach the force lost three men killed and 23 men and Lieut. Rose and the Doctor wounded. Captain Williams afterwards from Ibi, in admiration of his plucky defence, presented his sword to the chief Porba.

5. *Arafu*, 1885-6.—The Company had always regarded the Munshi tribe as an "x" quantity. Several small trading stations were opened at riverside Jukun villages in the Munshi district, including Katsina Ala; and a considerable camp was formed at the Arufu diggings. In the dry season of 1885-6 an extensive rising took place, when the Munshis killed the two Europeans in charge of the Benue stations, Messrs. Griffiths and Hoyland, and two of the three Europeans at Arufu, Messrs. Lennard and Kinahan, when Mr. C. W. McIntosh had to hold the camp until relief arrived on the rise of the river. The camp was then abandoned, several of the riverside Munshi villages destroyed, and the Munshi district, except for a small station later at Abinsi, was given up as a trading venture.

Arufu was next visited by the Company's agent in 1895.

6. *Dankoro*, 1897-8.—Involved with Jukun-Munshi affairs was a man of considerable notoriety known as Dankoro, a Goberi of the old Hausa fighting stock, who appeared in the Benue valley as Sarkin Yaki of the Sokoto raider Bayaro cire. 1870. With his

home at Jangargare on the north bank, he was a free-lance with some influence among some of the Munshi clans; and though regarded with toleration by the Company in earlier years, he became a thorn in the side of Wukari, with a strong contempt for the Jukuns whom he raided within twenty miles of that town. With less than five minutes to spare at his camp behind Osebufu he escaped a surprise raid from Ibi by Lieut. Engelbach in December, 1897 (see p. 13), and again in August, 1898, he barely escaped capture by Captain Parker from Wukari, when his camp in the Munshi bush some twenty miles south-west of Wukari was destroyed, and one of his attachés, Aliyu Zaiki, a Sokoto "Dan-Sarki," was taken and shot (see p. 13).

Dankoro died in March, 1899, from the kick of a horse.

7. *Wurio*, 1899.—The Suntai punitive force, returning to Ibi *via* Wurio, made an attempt to arrest the Wurio chief and the Muri Yerima Haman, who were deemed to be chiefly responsible for the increased tension existing between the Emir and the Taraba district, but they had escaped. Wurio was burned and a corn fine levied upon the chief.

8. *Montol*, 1899.—The same officers who had dealt with Suntai left Ibi in July, 1899, on a patrol in the Ankwe district, with a view to opening the route down to Ibi for traders, and they came into conflict with the marauding tribe of Montol, who were put to flight and had a number of their cattle seized and confiscated.

B.—EXTRACTS FROM THE NIGER COMPANY RECORDS.

NOTE.—These extracts have been selected as an appendix to Mr. Hewby's notes, amplifying his account of sundry events and further illustrating the pioneer work of the Company.

Jibu, April, 1891 (see p. 8).—A force as under left Ibi on the 11th to punish the inhabitants of Jibu for trouble they were giving the Company:—

Major Ewart (in command), Sub-Commandant Moloney, 130 non-commissioned officers and men with two guns. Messrs. Morris and Isaacs (executive officials) accompanied the expedition; and on the following day they were joined by Mr. McIntosh.

On the 12th, Jibu was shelled from both land and river; and on the 13th it was entered by the troops. Sub-Commandant Moloney and 100 men with two guns were left in occupation, and the remainder of the force returned to Ibi. No casualties.

Kachella, July, 1895 (see p. 8).—Sub-Commandant Arnold, with 40 non-commissioned officers and men, left Ibi on the 9th to operate against the town of Kachella. Owing to errors of the guides and to Sub-Commandant Arnold having been attacked by

fever, the march was interrupted, and the town was not reached until the 18th. Then the town was found to be too strong in stockaded defences for so small a party to attack successfully, and Sub-Commandant Arnold, therefore, decided to return to Ibi and apply to headquarters for reinforcements. Accordingly, after a few rough sketches of the place had been made, the party returned to Ibi, arriving there on the 24th.

Kachella, August, 1895 (see p. 9).—Sub-Commandant Arnold, accompanied by Sub-Commandants Beck and Brogden and a force of 110 non-commissioned officers and men, with two 7-pounder guns, left Ibi on the 25th to attack the well-fortified town of Kachella. On the 30th that town was reached and the attack on it at once commenced.

After bombarding the town, its walls, and its gates for about three hours, an examination showed that although considerable damage had been inflicted on interior buildings, no sufficient breach in the outer walls for the purpose of an entry had been effected. The consequences likely to attend an attempt to obtain ingress in any other way appeared to Sub-Commandant Arnold to be altogether too dangerous to risk; and as he, from lack of ammunition, was not in a position to continue the bombardment, he decided to withdraw his force, which he accordingly did.

The troops formed a camp a few miles off, in the evening, and on the following day (31st) marched to the friendly town of Takum, where they rested until the 2nd September. On that day they marched to Chungchungi, and on the next to Akata, where they embarked for return to quarters. No casualties.

Kachella, July, 1896 (see p. 9).—The following force assembled at Ibi between the 16th and 18th to march against the town and stronghold of Kachella:—

Acting-Commandant Festing (in command), Sub-Commandant Parker, 208 non-commissioned officers and men, and 200 carriers, with one Maxim, one Gardner, and three 7-pounder guns. Dr. Cargill and Mr. Marmon accompanied the force.

On the 19th the march was commenced, and on the 22nd the troops arrived at and were reinforced by allies from the friendly town of Takum, 19 miles from Kachella.

On the 23rd a guard of 1 non-commissioned officer and 22 men was left at Takum, and the remainder of the force set out for Kachella, but, owing to the roundabout way taken by the guides, they did not reach that town until near 6 p.m.

As soon as a free field for fire had been made, and a Zareba constructed, a few shells were fired into the town, from which, however, no sortie was attempted that evening.

On the following morning the bombardment of the town was recommenced, and continued for about two hours; when, the power

of the 7-pounders having proved insufficient for the purpose of breaching the walls, Acting-Commandant Festing decided to carry the town by assault. Three companies of 50 men each were therefore sent forward in semi-circular formation, under cover of artillery and machine gun fire. They were met by a hot fire of shot and arrows, but were nevertheless entirely successful in rushing the stockade. Sub-Commandant Parker was the first over, but unfortunately he received wounds in two places and had to retire for medical treatment. The enemy were driven from the town, and the Chief Kachella was shot while attempting to cross a stream. The town itself was subsequently destroyed, but through want of time, the stockade, which would have taken 100 men some weeks to raise, had to be left. There was, however, little chance of its ever being occupied again.

On the 25th the return march to Ibi was commenced, and on the 1st August that town was reached, the troops then returning to permanent quarters.

The total casualties were:—Constabulary, two men killed; Sub-Commandant Parker and eight men wounded; Allies and followers, 12 killed and wounded.

Dankoro, December, 1897 (see p. 11).—Sub-Commandant Engelbach and 50 non-commissioned officers and men embarked at Ibi in canoes on the 14th and proceeded to Osibufu, where they arrived and disembarked on the 18th. From thence they marched to relieve the town of Kuntari, a town that was being besieged by a chief named Dankoro, who, with his following, was lying in a stockaded camp outside.

The force was conducted by a back way into Kuntari to a point from which the front and rear of Dankoro's position could be seen. Sub-Commandant Engelbach thereupon decided to attack it at once, and, accordingly, he advanced against it with 25 men, leaving the remaining 25 in Kuntari as a reserve.

When within 250 yards of the stockade, the troops fired two volleys and then charged. The enemy made no attempt to stand, but fled into the bush, where they were held by the troops while the townspeople from Kuntari cleared the camp of all Dankoro's moveable goods. The camp itself was destroyed later in the day by the troops, who soon afterwards set out on their return journey to Ibi.

No casualties among the troops were reported during these operations.

Dankoro, August, 1898 (see p. 11).—Sub-Commandant Parker, with 49 non-commissioned officers and men, one 7-pounder gun, and accompanied by Mr. Marmon left Ibi on the 14th to attack Dankoro in his own village of Zeikam Kwondo.

At Wukari about 25 horse and 300 foot joined the force, which numbers were subsequently augmented by about 200 Munshis.

When within about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Dankoro's village some of his Munshis were met and fired upon by the troops, and he, with his followers, became alarmed. They made a show of attacking the force in the flanks, but after receiving two volleys they fled.

After destroying Dankoro's and two other small villages the troops returned to Ibi.

Casualties—nil.

Wase, September, 1898 (see p. 9).—Sub-Commandant Parker, with 40 non-commissioned officers and men and one 7-pounder gun left Ibi on 31st August for Amara to defend that town from an attack with which it was threatened by Kobri, the king of Wase.

On the arrival of the force at Amara on the 1st September it was found that the expected attack had actually taken place a few days previously, and that it had been successfully resisted; the main part of the defence having been carried out by four native soldiers who, with a few carriers, happened to be passing through the town on escort duty at the time.

These facts having been reported to Mr. Hewby, the Senior Executive Officer of the district, that official at once left Ibi with Sub-Commandant Skinner, 50 non-commissioned officers and men, and one Maxim gun, for Amara, to reinforce Sub-Commandant Parker's force, with a view to an advance against Wase. This reinforcement reached Amara on the 6th, and arrangements were then made for the march. Accordingly on the following day the whole force, accompanied by Lieutenant Bryan, West African Frontier Force, as a volunteer, left for Wase, and on the evening of the 8th they arrived and camped within seven miles of that town.

On the morning of the 9th the force advanced against the town, which was found to be about three miles in circumference, surrounded by a wall 10 feet high with five gates, and to have a ditch three to four feet deep most of the way round.

Fire was opened on the town and its walls, but the latter could not be breached.

While the bombardment was proceeding Sub-Commandant Parker received an arrow wound in the head and had to retire for treatment, leaving Sub-Commandant Skinner in command. This officer, soon after, effected an entrance by rushing one of the gates, when the whole force passed into the town. The enemy were quickly driven out and the king's palace was secured.

On the following day the town and its gates were completely destroyed, and on the 11th the force left on its return march to Amara, which was reached without further incident.

Casualties—Sub-Commandant Parker and one man wounded by arrows.

Ibi, August, 1895 (see p. 6).—A proclamation made in the market place of Ibi, the ninth day of August, 1895.

I, the representative of the Royal Niger Company Chartered and Limited in this district, make the following Public Statement for the benefit of all concerned:—

1. After a reign of thirty-four years, Bula, king of Ibi, having died to the grief of the Company and of all his people, the throne has become vacant. There are two candidates for this, the son of the late king, Yerima Galli, and Abubakara Sarikin Yaki, son of the former king, Zango. Both of these are highly estimable men with whom the Company is in accord.

2. The Company by virtue of a treaty signed 23rd October, 1882, now exercise their right of appointing the new king. The king now to be nominated will hereby understand that the Company are resolved to have the town of Ibi ruled in a proper manner, and that in case of failure in this respect they will appoint another man who will be more successful.

3. I hereby call upon the king whose name I am about to proclaim to affix his signature to this document, in the presence of the assembly, as an earnest of his intention to fulfil the important post in a wise and sensible manner, and to abide by the rules and arrangements made by the Company.

4. Being now about to appoint the king, I now warn all inhabitants of Ibi that any person intriguing against the king will be either severely punished or forcibly expelled from the town.

(Sgd.) GALLI,
King of Ibi.

(Sgd.) W. P. HEWBY,
District Agent.

Witness to above signatures:—

(Sgd.) L. H. MOSELEY.
Two natives.

Jalingo (1895) (see p. 6).—General description of the journey from Mainarawa Waterside to the king of Muri's war camp outside Kwona.

Arriving at Mainarawa Waterside in the S.W. "Benue" on the 7th inst., close to the ruins of the Frenchmen's station, which was situated on the south bank of the Mainarawa river at its junction with the Benue, a messenger was despatched to the king of Muri at his camp about 10 miles outside of Kwona town informing him of our arrival and of Mr. Hewby's wish to visit and interview him. This messenger returned on the 9th inst., bringing news of the king's wish to again meet the Company, and also four horses for our use on the journey.

. . . . We started at 8.30 a.m. on the 10th, arriving at Mainarawa Town about 9.0 a.m. Outside the town we came on

the Company's former premises which at the present time consist of a few ruined mud walls. . . . We arrived at the small village of Doé at 1.30 p.m. There we . . . camped for the night. Starting at 4.0 a.m. we . . . arrived at the camp at 7.0 p.m. having passed through rain for the last two hours. We were warmly welcomed by the king's second son in person and several other Muri chiefs. . . .

The camp itself is a settlement of, I should think, 1,000 people, built in a circle with four gates at the N.S.E.W. aspects respectively. A high mud wall surrounds the whole place with loopholes for guns about every two feet Contrary to the usual custom the houses are not packed together, each house having a small farm attached, this being in the event of seige. The people here are Fulahs. . . .

We were splendidly treated at the camp by the king and everybody concerned. Here we stayed four days during which time Mr. Hewby obtained a new treaty with the king and put an end to the late hostile feeling between the Company and Muri.

We started on our return journey at 8.30 a.m. on the 16th inst., and were escorted from the town for some distance by Prince Tafida, second son of the king, and one or two other chiefs We arrived at Doé about 8.30 p.m. . . . started at 7.45 on the morning of the 17th and . . . arrived back at the S.W. "Benue" at 11.30 a.m. . . .

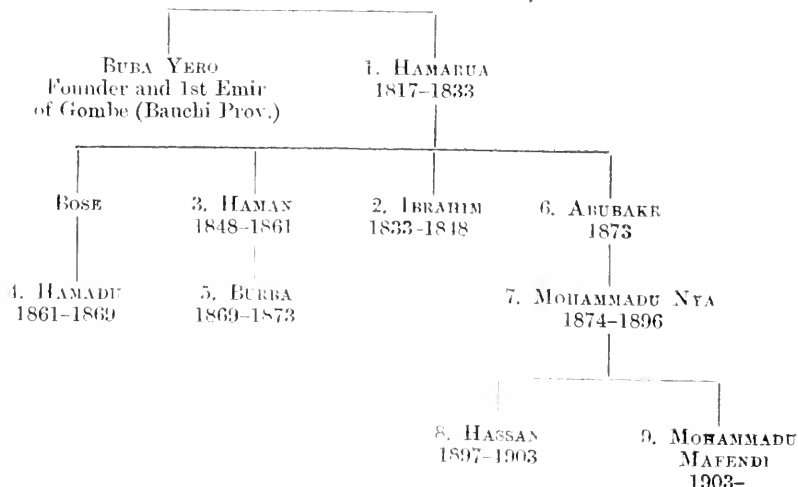
June 19th, 1895.

L. H. MOSELEY.

C.—MURI DIVISION.

As stated above, all districts of Muri Division are included in the Muri Emirate.

Genealogical Table of Emirs of Muri.



Hamarua (1817-1833).—Hamarua, termed Modibo (learned man), was the younger brother of Buba Yero, the founder of the Gombe Emirate (Bauchi Province).

Buba Yero and Yakubu (born in 1753), founder of the Bauchi Emirate, were of about the same age; both studied under and received flags from Sheikh Othman Dan Fodio, the first Sarkin Musulmi (Sultan of Sokoto), who reigned from 1804-1817.

Hamarua founded the town of Muri and for many years followed his elder brother and went in his train to Sokoto. When Buba Yero grew old he conceived the idea of uniting the Gombe and Muri territories under the rule of his son Koiranga (afterwards second Emir of Gombe). With this object in view he summoned Hamarua and his eldest son Bose to Gombe and on a charge of trying to get the Sarkin Musulmi to recognise their independence of him he executed them both in his house.

The people of Muri appealed to the Sultan of Sokoto (Mohammadu Bello) who gave the deputation a flag to take to Haman, second son of Hamarua. Finding general opinion against him Haman gave way in favour of his younger brother Ibrahim who was the most popular of Hamarua's sons.

Second Emir Ibrahim (1833-1848).—Ibrahim ruled for three years, went mad and was succeeded by Haman. He then got better and was re-installed but went mad again and was finally deposed and died about 1848.

Third Emir Haman (1848-1861).—Haman was again elected and shortly afterwards had to deal with trouble between his son Burba and Hamadu son of his brother Bose. Hamadu had built the town of Gassol and Burba had settled at a spot which is now only bush, near Wurio. Burba accused Hamadu of appropriating gaisuwa in transit from Donga and Wukari to his father at Muri. Haman, fearing war between the two, took them across the Benue to Muri and stationed his slaves at two new towns, Sendirdi and Wurio, to watch their followers and prevent any further trouble. Some time after Hamadu fled back to Gassol. A year or two later Haman paid a visit to Sendirdi and, while riding one day on the sands of the River Taraba, was attacked and wounded by Hamadu and his followers. Burba asked to be allowed to exact vengeance but Haman refused and returned to Muri. After his departure Hamadu attacked and captured Sendirdi. Burba was angry with his father, left Muri and re-established himself near Wurio. Shortly afterwards Haman was deposed by the Fulani of Muri and died at Maio Renewa. Two reasons are given for his deposal, one, that he was mad and cared for nothing but pleasure and the company of his wives, the other, that the Fulani were annoyed at his behaviour at Gassol. Sarkin Raba, the Sokoto envoy ("Jakada") opportunely arrived and gave his sanction to the appointment of Hamadu.

During Haman's time Jibu, Bantaji and Ibi were added to the Emirate (see pp. 28 and 31).

Fourth Emir Hamadu (1861-1869).—Hamadu ruled for nine years, spending his time partly at Gassol. In his absence his eldest son, Haman Adama, took charge of Gassol and his fourth son, Umoru Sanda, of Muri. To his second son, Haman Joda, he gave Sendirdi and to his third son, Tobi, Wurrio. Burba thereupon went and founded Bakundi. Hamadu died at Gassol about 1869. He had married a daughter of Sarkin Wukari (see p. 38).

The Sarkin Musulmi sent a letter directing that Abubakr, son of Hamarua, was to be appointed Emir, but the people refused and Burba was elected.

Fifth Emir Burba (1869-1873).—Burba's first act on becoming Emir was to arrest the three eldest sons of the late Emir Hamadu who had come to Muri as claimants, but they escaped and on their return home they rebelled. Burba besieged Gassol which sued for peace and agreed to follow him. He sent one Kaigamma with a strong force and took Wurrio. Burba then went back to Muri and shortly afterwards Gassol again rebelled. Burba reigned for four years, went mad and was deposed. He returned to Bakundi where he died in 1892 (see p. 20).

Sixth Emir Abubakr (1873).—Abubakr, son of Hamarua (1st Emir), succeeded Burba and died after seven months. He was succeeded by his son Mohammadu.

Seventh Emir Mohammadu Nya (1874-1896).—Mohammadu (Mohamma Nya) reigned for 22 years. He was probably the ablest and most energetic of all the Emirs. During his time Burba, who had more or less recovered, came to Muri with a large following, and after a stay of about 20 days returned to Bakundi. He had a secret meeting with the Emir and both came to an agreement of mutual tolerance for fear that the sons of Hamadu might eventually turn and rend them both, should they waste their strength on making war on each other.

Mohammadu made four campaigns against the Munshi and penetrated as far as Katsena Allah, which he burnt.

He attacked Kwona (a Jukun town to the north of Jalingo), but did not take it. The inhabitants, however, made a treaty with him and for some years were tributary (see p. 24). They were constantly revolting, and in 1893 he captured the town with the aid of Lieutenant Mizon (see p. 7), after which Muri was practically given up as the capital in favour of Jalingo, the camp from which the Emir had for so long in vain threatened Kwona.

He also raided the Munnye Pagans but made no permanent occupation of their country.

About 1877 he went to attack Namma, a pagan town of Jukun origin in the Cameroons, about 60 miles south of Bakundi, but the people scattered without awaiting his onslaught.

For the account of his relations with the Niger Company and with Jibu see pp. 6 and 8.

In 1896, Mohammadu Nya died and his son Hassan returned to Jalingo from Mutum Biu and was elected Emir. It is said this younger brother Haman had refused to be preferred before Hassan, probably because he had no following.

Eighth Emir Hassan (1897-1903).—Hassan, son of Mohammadu Nya, ruled from 1897-1903. As will be seen from the history of Gassol and Mutum Biu districts he had no cause to be friendly with his kinsmen of Gassol. In 1897 his brother Haman Mafendi (the present Emir) joined Abubakr Sarkin Wurio in a conspiracy, the avowed object of which was to oust Hassan from the Emirate and for Sanda and Abubakr to divide the country between themselves. The Emir met them at Wuzu, the port of Muri, on the Benue and they scattered (see p. 6).

Haman Mafendi took refuge with Abubakr in Wurio until, in 1899, he was driven into flight by the Company's agent (see p. 11). Travelling via Bakundi and the Dakka country Haman Mafendi arrived at Zuberu's Court at Yola and offered his services to the Emir. He was given Maio Balewa as his residence to control the Mumuye over whom he had some influence. After the fall of Zuberu in September, 1901, Haman Mafendi was the first to tender his submission. A few weeks later he escorted Dr. Cargill and Captain Ruxton through the Mumuye country to Jalingo, where a truce was patched up between him and his brother Hassan. It was then settled that Haman should henceforth live at Bamga (Yola Province).

Hassan died at Jalingo in 1903, shortly before the High Commissioner approved of his deposition for slave dealing (see p. 6).

Ninth Emir Mohamma (Haman) Mafendi (1903-).—Mohamma Mafendi, son of the Emir Mohammadu Nya, succeeded his brother as Emir in 1903. He was at Bamga, Yola Province (see above), when he heard the news of Hassan's death and came straight to Jalingo, seized the power and informed the Resident. He was duly installed at Lau a fortnight after Hassan's death.

On his accession the districts of Bakundi, Gassol, and Wurio, were all independent, but in 1907 Bakundi and Gassol were again incorporated in the Emirate, and in 1909 Wurio resumed its old allegiance.

In the middle of 1910 he moved his headquarters from Jalingo to Mutum Biu where he remained until 1917 when Jalingo once more became the capital of the Emirate.

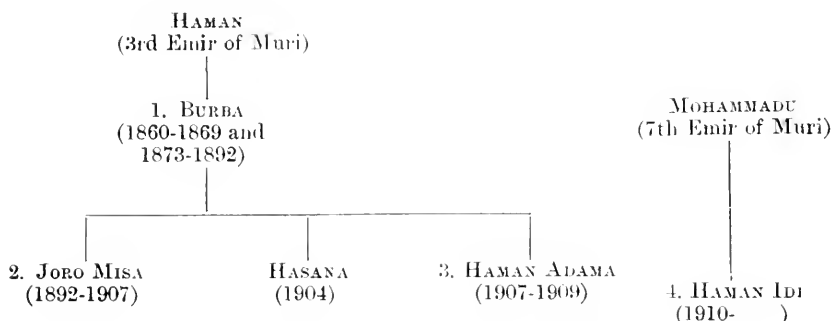
He attended the Durbar held at Kano in January, 1913.

Mutum Biu, whilst still the capital, was raided by the Germans in April, 1915, the Emir and the Political Officer barely escaping in time (see p. 71).

The Emir took an active interest in the war and to mark the fall of Garua in 1915 he presented a gift of cattle and kola nuts to the troops of the Ibi Column. In 1916 he contributed from his treasury £100 for the relief of wounded and disabled Nigerian soldiers (see p. 72). He received a gratuity from the Government for his services.

1.—BAKUNDI DISTRICT.

Genealogical Table.



About 1860, Burba, son of Haman, third Emir of Muri, (see p. 17), left Muri and built Bakundi. The Wurubo were then living in a town built on piles in a lake close to Bakundi and the Jibawa (from Jibu and the confluence of the Donga and Benue), were at Beli (see p. 31). Neither offered any resistance and both agreed to follow Burba, who however, broke up the Wurubo town, which is said to have been built about 1800 for the purpose of escaping from the raids of the Chamba. The Chamba fought Burba, and were either driven to the hills or out of the district.

About the same time he also destroyed the last remnants of Kororofa, the ancient capital of the Jukun kingdom (see p. 34).

From 1869 to 1873 he was Emir of Muri. In 1873 he was declared to be mad and was deposed. But he returned to Bakundi and was able to rule the district again for nearly twenty years as an independent state, paying tribute to Sokoto.

About 1888, Burba, with the Yerima of Gassol and Jauro Sambo, Sarkin Gashaka, tried to capture Namma (see p. 18), a pagan town of Jukun origin lying about 60 miles south of Bakundi, but their combined efforts failed to reduce it and at the end of three months they retired. Burba died at Bakundi in 1892, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Isa.

Mohammed Isa (Joro Misa) (1892-1904) was created Sarkin Kudu by the Emir of Muri whom he visited. He was alleged to have

been involved in a caravan robbery, and when called to Amar by the Resident he fled to German Territory.

Hasana (1904), his brother, acted for four months until Mohammeda Isa returned. Both of them proceeded to Amar and the visit resulted in the latter's reinstatement. Hasana had not proved a capable District Head. After his reinstatement his conduct still proved unsatisfactory, and in 1907 he again fled to German Territory. The district was then incorporated in the Muri Emirate and a younger brother, Haman Adama, succeeded him. Mohammeda Isa subsequently returned to British territory, was arrested and deported to Lokoja.

Haman Adama (1907-1909) proved himself to be an incapable and selfish District Head. In 1909 he was convicted of slave-dealing and attempted murder and imprisoned. He was succeeded by Haman Idi.

Haman Idi (1910-), a son of Mohammadu, seventh Emir of Muri, was appointed District Head by the Emir with the title of Ubandoma in 1910. In 1916 he was given the rank of Sarkin Kudu.

The Kam district lying along the Cameroon border to the east of Bakundi was first administered in 1912; on the 1st January, 1914, it was incorporated in the Bakundi district.

Tradition points to the Kam pagans being of Jukun stock who migrated from Kororofa (west of Bakundi). They live in the fastnesses of precipitous hills and keep very much to themselves. They are good agriculturists and their crops are bought by traders coming up the Kam river, a tributary of the Taraba which flows into the Benue.

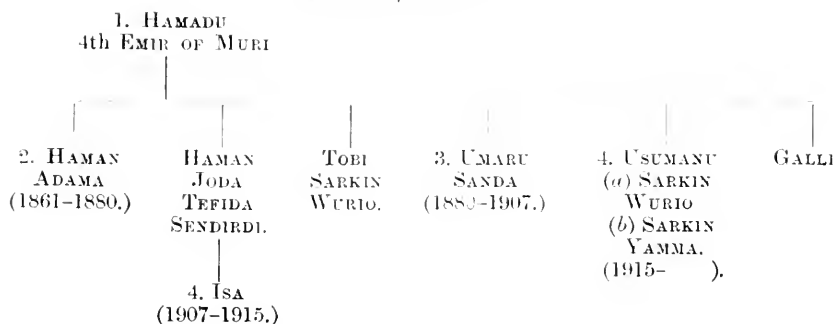
Following the outbreak of war with the Cameroons in August, 1914, a police post was established at Bakundi. The Germans gradually occupied about 500 square miles of the border and Bakundi was abandoned, but re-occupied by British troops shortly afterwards. The Germans were finally driven out of the district by the Ibi column in November, 1914. They unsuccessfully attacked Beli in February, 1915.

2.—DAKKA DISTRICT.

The inhabitants of this district, according to tradition, are pagans of Jukun stock who migrated from the direction of Donga at the same time as their kinsmen of Kam.

In 1912, Yerima Libla was appointed District Head.

3.—GASSOL DISTRICT.
Genealogical Table.



The early history of this district is largely merged in that of the Emirs of Muri, *q.v.*

Hamadu (1840-1861), son of Bose, built Gassol, on the right bank of the Taraba river, about 1840. On becoming Emir in 1861, he appointed his son, Haman Adama, first Yerima of Gassol.

Haman Adama (1861-1880). After the death of Emir Hamadu at Gassol in 1869, Haman Adama rebelled against the new Emir Burba, and Gassol remained in a state of revolt for many years. Throughout this period Haman Adama's brother, Haman Joda, Tafida of Sendirdi, remained loyal to the Emir of Muri.

Haman Adama died about 1880 and Haman Joda was appointed to succeed him, but another younger brother, Umaru Sanda, refused to allow him to enter Gassol, so he remained at Sendirdi.

Umaru Sanda (1880-1907) was made Yerima of Gassol by the people and his appointment was subsequently confirmed by the Emir Mohammadu Nya on orders from Sokoto. It was cancelled about 1895 in favour of the Emir's son, Hassan, but Hassan never reached Gassol, being defeated at Yolam Bodewa by a combined force from Gassol and Wurio, and he established himself at Mutum Biu, afterwards becoming Emir.

On Haman Joda's death at Sendirdi he was succeeded by his son Isa, who refused to follow Gassol, sending to the Emir to say that the Gassol people prevented him rendering the allegiance which had been customary for his father to do. Umaru Sanda drove Isa out of Sendirdi and installed the latter's brother Galli. Isa fled to Bantaji (now in Ibi district) and thence to the Emir (see under Mutum Biu district, p. 26).

About 1901 Galli was deposed and Isa returned to Sendirdi. In 1907 Umar Sanda was deposed for embezzlement and the present Emir installed Isa as Yerima of Gassol.

Isa (1907-1915), as has been seen, had an adventurous career before becoming Yerima, and his attitude towards the Emir, from the time of appointment as District Head of Gassol, was antagonistic throughout.

In 1913 the " Sansanni district " of Ibi division was transferred to Muri Emirate and incorporated in Gassol district.

In 1915 Yerima Isa was arrested and convicted on various charges, and was deported to Ilorin in 1916, subsequently to Gombe. The Wurio district, which also figures with that of Gassol in the earlier history of the Emirs, was amalgamated with Gassol District and Usumanu Sarkin Wurio (1915-) was appointed District Head with the title Sarkin Yamma.

4.—JALINGO DISTRICT.



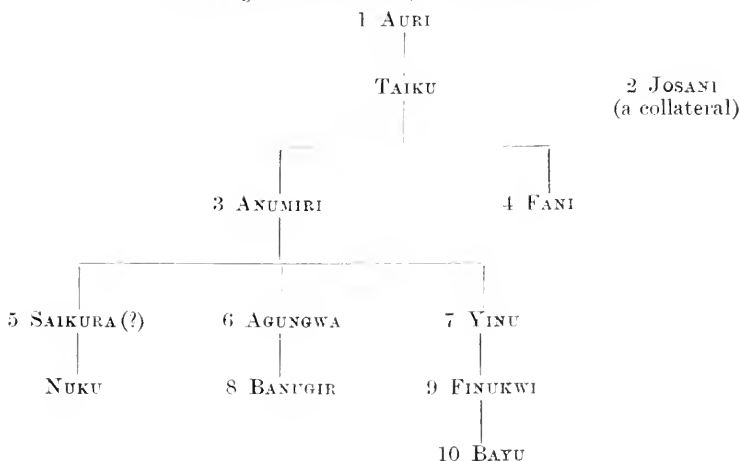
The original districts of Jalingo Fulbe and Jalingo Habe (now in Wurkum, q.v.) were formed in the present Emir's time and were administered by himself, but on his moving to Mutum Biu in 1910 they were without a head for two years. From 1912 to 1915, when Tafida was appointed, Kwiambana acted as Head of Jalingo Fulbe District.

In 1917 this Jalingo Fulbe district was split up, the western portion as far as the river Maio Renewa being included in the Mutum Biu district, the north-eastern portion becoming the Lau district, and the remainder, taking in the Tau district, becoming the present district of Jalingo under Mohammadu, eldest son of the Emir, with the title of Dan Buram.

Jalingo became the capital town of Muri Emirate about 1893 (see p. 18) for 17 years or so, and again since 1917.

5.—KWONA DISTRICT.

Genealogical Table of Jukun Chiefs:—



Modibo Hamarua, the founder of Muri, conquered and burned the Jukun town of Kuro (some five miles north of the present site of Kwona), in the reign of its Sarki Saikuru. Afterwards small-pox broke out among the people, who thereupon left Kuro. They established the town of Kwona some eight miles north of Jalingo, under their then Sarki Agungwa. They paid tribute in the shape of slaves, food, and labour. The Emir of Muri, Nya, a grandson of Modibo Hamarua, sent to Agungwa to inform him that his slaves had run away and had collected at Sonko, a town some 16 miles south of Jalingo (now in ruins). Nya stated further that he was going to Sonko to conquer the place and recover his slaves. Agungwa agreed, whereupon Nya, having collected a Fulani force at Muri, crossed the Benue and made his camp at Hosere Bolere, a town some ten miles south-west of Jalingo. Nya conquered Sonko and recovered all his slaves. While he was at Sonko, Agungwa, Sarkin Kwona, collected a force which included Bashamas and Mumuyes. One Panabuguri, a Bashama from Damsa (east of Numan, Yola Province), who was in command of the Bashamas, before setting out for Sonko, drank native liquor (*giya*) and touching the floor with his forehead in token of loyalty to Sarkin Kwona, swore to bring Sarkin Muri dead or alive. The force fell on the Emir's camp at Sonko by surprise and the Fulani ran away, only about ten being killed. Agungwa's force had divided into two parts so as to fall on the camp from both sides, and they fired into one another and killed numbers of their own people. The Fulani under Nya then collected their arms and falling on Agungwa's force drove them into a marsh. A great many of the pagans were killed, including Panabuguri. A younger brother of Agungwa, named Dau, stated that the oath of Panabuguri was of no use but that he himself would seize Sarkin Muri Nya dead or alive. Mounted on a horse he came up to Nya and drank some liquor. He threw two spears at the Emir but missed him. The Emir was then told that Dau was the younger brother of Agungwa. Being on a tethered horse he drew his sword and cut the horse rope, then charged Dau, and driving him into the marsh, dispatched him with a spear. Agungwa's force was completely defeated and about forty horses were captured. No prisoners were taken. Agungwa, it seems, did not himself accompany this expedition.

The Emir Nya for about four years afterwards was constantly warring with Agungwa, until the latter sent a letter with a messenger named Fokuru, to the Sarkin Musulmi Mu'asu at Sokoto, and said that he would follow Sarkin Muri and pay 100 slaves. Sarkin Musulmi agreed and wrote to that effect to the Muri Emir.

During Nya's reign also Yinu, Agungwa's successor, revolted. With the aid of the French Lieutenant Mizon (see p. 7) Nya conquered Kwona. Kwona again rebelled, but was finally subdued by Nya.

The Mumuyes, now included in Kwona district, are the most backward tribe in Muri Province. Little is known regarding their

history and origin, but they are akin to the Zinna and Yakoko tribes across the Yola Provincial Boundary. They appear to have lived amongst the hills for considerably over 100 years and they were driven thereto by the Jukun to whom they paid tribute until the Fulani raids under Mohammadu Nya.

The Mumuye country was first traversed by Mr. Barclay with a patrol under Captain Baker, from Yola, in 1901-1902. It was visited again and "opened up" in 1909, since when there have been annual patrols, all of which have encountered opposition, more or less serious.

In 1914 the Mumuye were amalgamated with Kwona and Bayu, Sarkin Kwona, became first District Head of the present Kwona district.

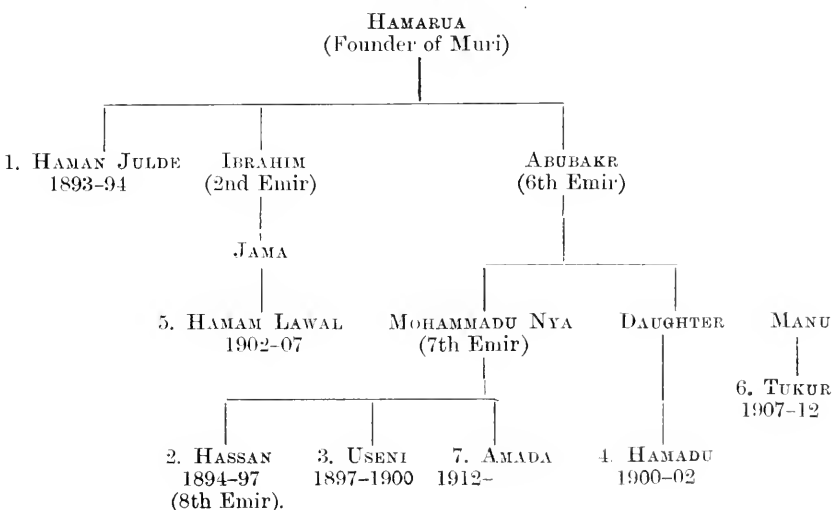
6.—LAU DISTRICT.

This district was formerly the north-east portion of the Jalingo district which proved somewhat unwieldy, so in January, 1917, it was formed into a separate district (see p. 23) under Tafida with its capital at Gidon Sarkin Yaki. Tafida was at the time head of Jalingo district. He was Head of the small district of Tau before its amalgamation with the Jalingo district.

Lau itself is situated on the Benue (south bank), and was till 1910 the administrative centre of Lau Division. It is an important trade centre, has for many years been a Niger Company station, and contains a telegraph office.

7.—MURI DISTRICT.

Genealogical Table.



It seems probable that the local aborigines were Wurubo and Jen on the River Benue and Wurkum on the hills. The Jukun during their period of power seem to have confined their settlements here to the salt areas where they are at present.

The district was administered by the Emirs themselves until the capital was moved from Muri to Jalingo in 1893 after which date the district received little attention.

Haman Julde, son of Hamarua, was in charge in 1893 for a year, when he died and was succeeded by Hassan.

Hassan, son of Emir Mohammadu Nya, as Yerima Muri was District Head for four years until in 1897 he became Emir, when he appointed his twin brother Useni.

Useni had the title Dan Galadima and his successor had the title Ubandoma.

Hamadu (Ubandoma) was son of one Belo, who married a daughter of Abubakr (sixth Emir). Before long he left Muri and returned to Jalingo.

Haman Lawal, son of Chiroma Jama a descendant of Ibrahim (second Emir), was next appointed with the title of Chironma. He was removed four years later.

Tukur, son of one Manu, was appointed, with the title of Galadima, and died five years later.

Amadu (1912-), the present District Head, is the fifth son of Emir Mohammadu Nya, and is Chiroma like his predecessors Hassan and Haman Lawal.

Muri district is of small importance now, with reduced population. In the early years of the administration troops were stationed for a time at Muri town. In 1908 Amar district was incorporated.

8.—MUTUM BIU DISTRICT.

HAMADU
4th Emir of Muri

HAMAN JODA
TAFIDA SENDIRDI

1. ISA (subsequently
Yerima of Gassol).

2. MADAKI
(Kachella)

3. KACHELLA
1906-

Up to 1878 this district was uninhabited, but in that year two hunters, slaves of the Emir of Muri, were settled on the present site of the town, which was appropriately named Mutum Biu (two men). Subsequently the Emir, Mohammadu Nya, sent some slaves under Kachella Duna to build a town.

In 1895 Mutum Biu was Hassan's (eighth Emir) war camp in his fights with Yerima Sanda of Gassol.

When Isa (subsequently third Yerima of Gassol) was driven out of Sendirdi, the Emir Hassan gave him charge of Mutum Biu, which had become an important outpost against aggression from Gassol. Isa's despotic and overbearing nature so seriously weakened the town that the Emir had to send his Kachella Isiaku against him and Isa fled to Bakundi to Joro Misa Sarkin Kuda, who was also in a state of revolt against Muri.

Madaki, one of the founders, became first Kachella of Mutum Biu. The present Kachella was appointed District Head in 1906.

From the middle of 1910 to December, 1917, Mutum Biu was the capital of the Emirate.

On 18th April, 1915, the Germans raided the town (see p. 71).

9.—WURKUM DISTRICT.

MOHAMMADU NYA
(7th Emir of Muri)

1. JORO BAURO
1916—

The present district consists of the three Wurkum sections of Balassa, Kakalla and Gwomu, and the former district of Jalingo Habe, which were amalgamated on 1st January, 1914.

In 1912 Joro Bauro, a brother of the Emir, was appointed District Head of the Jalingo Habe district, and he remained Head of the present district on its inception. In 1916 he received the title Ubandoma.

Wurkum. About 1750 the Wurkum of Balassa and Kakalla are supposed to have migrated from Gwandon, in the north-east, and settled on the summit of Balassa hill, whence they spread to the north and west. Simultaneously with their arrival in the country some of the Jukun from Kwona crossed to the north bank of the Benue and formed a settlement at Kulum hill to the south-east of and within a few miles of Balassa.

Of the Wurkum of Gwomu tradition says that three families of Mumuye quitted their country, crossed the Benue and settled at Gwomu, Borok and Painya, because evil spirits were killing their children. After their arrival some Tangale from the north came and settled at Lo and Kwode, to the east of the first comers, and spread southwards for a short distance.

Early in the 19th century Yakubu, first Emir of Bauchi, pitched a war camp on Bambur hill (east of Balassa). He took some slaves but made no permanent conquest of the country and the Wurkum paid no regular tribute. About 1850 the Modibo of Muri raided them, but, after meeting with initial success, he was routed with heavy loss at Gwomu. The Fulani made no further efforts to subdue them.

There have been numerous patrols in this district. In 1902 and in 1903-4 no resistance was offered. In 1906 there was another patrol, and in May, 1909, a patrol under Lieut. Feneran, with Mr. Elphinstone as Political Officer, defeated the Wurkum and routed them after considerable opposition on the same spot as the Wurkum had routed the Modibo 60 years earlier. There were further patrols in 1910-1911, which encountered slight opposition, and in 1912, when no opposition was offered. The Wurkums are still primitive, but under control and "effective Administration" (see p. 2).

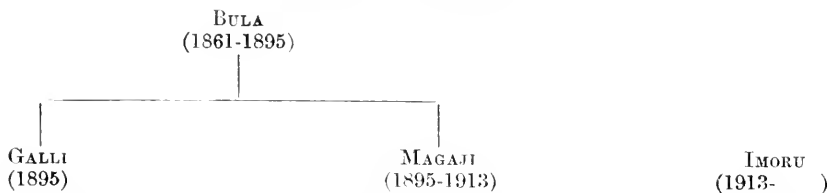
D.—IBI DIVISION.

I.—IBI DISTRICT.

About 1850 a settlement was made on the site of the present Ibi police lines by Gurki Sarkin Donga (see p. 40). In 1854—a year before the explorer Vogel crossed the Benue at Jibu—Dr. Baikie's expedition up the Benue in the "Pleiad" found three settlements, viz., Gankita, on the site of the gaol; Gankera, where the station now stands; and the small Wurubo village Ibi, at the mouth of the Wunyo creek. The nucleus of the present town was formed about 1855 by one Bula, a runaway slave of the Emir of Gombe, and it became an advanced post of the slave bands ("Bayin Fulani") from Muri.

From 1886 to 1899 Ibi was the administrative centre for the Benue of the Royal Niger Company and of its predecessor the National African Company (see p. 4), and the town has grown in importance until in the course of time and circumstances its chief has become head of a small district.

Table of Ibi Chiefs:—



Bula (see above) first settled at Jibu and was given the title of Sarkin Yamma; after accompanying and fighting for Hammadu, Emir of Muri, against Kentu, he was made Sarkin Ibi in 1861.

On 17th October, 1884, Bula and the headmen of Ibi signed a treaty with the National African Company conceding their land to the Company. The treaty was signed before Mr. E. H. Hewett, the British Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, Mr. W. Wallace and Mr. McIntosh signing on behalf of the Company.

In 1891 Count Morgen, from Banyo, visited Ibi.

Bula was succeeded by his son Galli (1895), who was appointed by the Royal Niger Company as chief (see p. 15) but died after a month. Galli's brother Magaji (1895-1913) was similarly appointed in the same year. The significance of these appointments, as also at Jibu, lay in their being made independently of the Emir of Muri (see p. 6).

Magaji was deposed in 1913, and Imoru, Sarikin Kasua of Ibi, a Hausa from Kano (1913-), was selected for the appointment with the provisional title of Maigarin Ibi. In 1916 he was confirmed as District Head and presented with a third grade staff of office. At the same time the Dampar district was split up, Dampar town, with the surrounding villages and the Benue Riverain, being incorporated into the Ibi district. Shortly afterwards the small district of Jibu was absorbed and finally, in 1917, the Bantaji district, thus completing the formation of the Ibi district as it now exists.

Wurbo Aborigines.—A hundred years ago the Wurubo appear to have been living at peace with the paramount power in the country, the Jukun. Beyond paying a certain amount of tribute in fish they were not molested. On the advent of the Fulani they were simply turned into slaves or serfs, offering little resistance thereto. Their numbers must have begun rapidly to decline. The Wurubo do not appear to have ever had a paramount chief or any known form of tribal organization.

The two divisions of the Wurubo are the Wursam and Jiru. Both are so much intermixed with foreign blood that as a separate tribe they are now difficult to be recognised, in fact, no true Wurubo village (Baasa Wurubo) exists; all are commonly referred to as Bayin Fulani. Their present distribution is on the banks of the Benue between Lau and Ibi, also on the Taraba and Donga rivers.

DISTRICTS ABSORBED IN IBI

(a) *Dampar.*

Genealogical Table.

Haji Nyugbu
(Circ. 1775-1810)

Atokusari
(Circ. 1810)

Asi
(1860-1867)

Haji
(1874-1915)

Angyu
(Circ. 1810-1860)

Agudu
(1867-1874)

One Haji Nyugbu from the ancient Jukun town of Kororofa is said to have founded Dampar and to have reigned 35 years. He visited Sarkin Bauchi after founding the town which was on the site of what is now only a small village called Dampar Rimi (about 25 miles north-west of Dampar). He was succeeded by a relative named Atokusari, who went to Bauchi and was duly appointed by the Emir, but was killed on his way back to Dampar.

Angyu (1810-1860), the next chief, abandoned Dampar (Rimi) and settled, first at Kuka, then—all in the same neighbourhood—at Dando close to the River Wase. By the time these moves had taken place Wase had been founded and Dampar was placed under Sarkin Dutsi (Sarkin Wase). After the move to Dando, Sarkin Dutsi, Haman dan Audu, sent for Angyu, who met him at Akiri (in Kassan Chikki), where he (Angyu) died after being chief about 50 years. On this journey from Dando to Akiri it is said that his people tried to drown him whilst crossing the river Shemankar (near the present site of Giddan Masu) by upsetting the "Giwa" or grass raft on which he was lying.

It is reported that Angyu was the first to pay regular tribute to Sarkin Bauchi and that he continued to do so to Sarkin Wase as Bauchi's representative. The annual tribute was 50 cloths, of which 30 were given Sarkin Bauchi and 20 retained by Wase.

Asi (1860-1867) was deposed by Sarkin Wase.

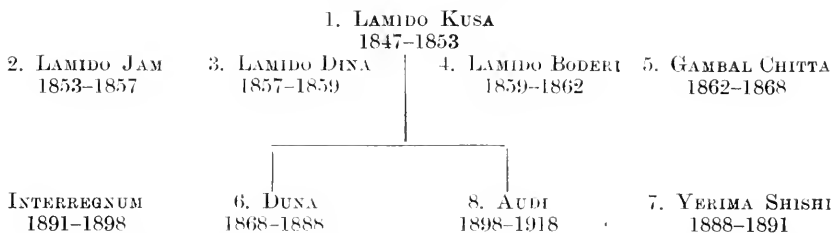
Haji (1874-1915) was appointed a fourth-class chief in 1913; he ruled for 41 years and died in 1915. He was regarded as an amiable patriarch.

During Haji's reign Sulimann (Sarkin Wase), on being driven out of Wase about 1874 (see p. 49), fled to Dampar which was subsequently attacked by Kobri and his followers from Wase but they were driven back. Sulimann then went to the Yergam where he was killed. On hearing of this, Sarkin Dampar with most of his people fled to Ibi where they remained for some years under the protection of the Royal Niger Company (see reference p. 8), who finally assisted them to found the present town of Dampar on the Benue, and settlements on the road towards Tshendam.

Prior to the quarrel arising out of the sheltering of Sulimann, Sarkin Dampar and his followers helped Sarkin Wase in his expeditions against the Ankwe and Kassan Chikki.

It is interesting to note that while the actual appointment of the chief was made by Sarkin Wase unofficial approval was also obtained from Sarkin Wukari as head of the Jukun tribe.

Dampar district was partitioned in 1916, the town and riverain villages being added to Ibi district and the Ankwe villages on the Ibi-Tshendam road to Ankwe district.

(b) *Jibu*.*Table of Chiefs.*

* Prior to the coming of Lamido Kuso, Jibu was inhabited by the pagan Jibawa, who were probably of kindred origin with the Jukun. About 1847 Lamido Kuso, a slave of Haman, third Emir of Muri, drove out the Jibawa (who fled south and occupied Beli near Bakundi) and settled in Jibu. He was chief for six years, and was succeeded by his follower Lamido Jam (1853-1857) then by three more followers, viz.:—Lamido Dina (1857-1859) who was deposed after two years, Lamido Boderi (1859-1862) who was killed in a fight with Donga, and Gambal Chitta (1862-1868).

Lamido Duna (1868-1888) the next chief was the eldest son of Kuso. He was a notorious warrior and marauder and became too independent of Muri. In his time Jibu was twice punished by the Niger Company force. The successor Yerima Shishi (1888-1891) returned to Jibu after the withdrawal of the troops and the Emir of Muri allowed him to style himself Sarkin Jibu. Jibu was again punished and he became an outlaw. For the account of Jibu under these two chiefs and until 1898 see p. 8.

Audi (1898-1918) posthumous son of Lamido Kuso and younger brother of Duna was appointed Sarkin Jibu in 1898. He failed to re-collect the old population, and in 1916 Jibu, still an insignificant village, was incorporated in the Ibi district. Audi died at Jibu in 1918.

(c) *Bantaji*.*Table of Chiefs.*

The founder of Bantaji was a Fulani slave of Muri. One Bakari left Bantaji (Fulani for silk cotton tree), a village south-west of Muri town, and settled at Sonko, a village south of Jalingo (see p. 24); later his younger brother Aliyu followed him, but afterwards joined Barka Kuso (Lamido Kuso) at Jibu. Aliyu soon

left Jibu and founded the present town of Bantaji; two years later Bakari followed him and became the first chief of Bantaji.

Bakari (1855-1863) was succeeded by his brother Aliyu (1863-1870).

Hamam Bose (1870-), Aliyu's son, succeeded at the age of 30 and is still chief. He was appointed a fourth-class chief in 1913, but his staff was withdrawn on the incorporation of Bantaji in the Ibi district in 1917 (see p. 29).

2.—WUKARI DISTRICT (THE JUKUNS).

(a) *Kororofa*.

According to the tradition of the Jukuns they came from Yemil, east of Mecca, with one Agudu as their leader. Such tradition is common enough in many a less important tribe, but research is beginning to reveal traces of Jukun influence far from their present habitat and to elicit signs of common origin with tribes from across the continent. This has already passed the conjectural or academic stage, and further study is likely to prove suggestive in contributing to a solution of administrative problems in this and kindred tribes in Nigeria, problems intensified by the disintegrating tendencies of modern development.

This famous Jukun tribe, whose state Kororofa wielded great power for some centuries, speak of themselves as the Wapan, but they are best known by the Hausa name Jukun. Their capital was at Bepi or Apa (Hausa, Kororofa), which was situated south of the Benue, about 15 miles north-east of Bantaji. No remains of this place are now visible, except for overgrown mounds and ditches representing the extensive walls. The capital was moved, probably in the 17th century, to Puje, near the present head town Wukari, 20 miles south of Ibi, as described below.

Under the name Kororofa this once powerful tribe is often referred to in the history of Bornu and Kano. Leaving aside the Hausa myth of Biram's seven illegitimate children, of whom Kororofa was one, we began to hear of this tribe in the 14th century. In the Kano Chronicles it is mentioned that Yahia, the first Mohammedan King of Kano extended his sway to the borders of Kororofa.

Kano.—The following are extracts from the Kano Chronicle:—

(1) Yahia or Yaji (1349-1385) came to Kororofa and the pagans (Jukunawa) fled up the hill at Tagara. Yaji remained seven months and then was paid 100 slaves. It is said that he died at Kororofa; perhaps he died at Kano.

(2) Kanajeji, son of Yaji (1390-1410), sent to Kororofa for tribute and they gave him 200 slaves and as long as they gave him slaves he sent them horses.

(3) Mohanna Zaki, son of Kisoki, reigned from 1582-1618 and it was in his time that Sarkin Kororofa came to attack Kano, whereupon they fled to Daura and the Jukuns conquered (ate up) the whole country and Kano became very weak.

(4) Mohamma Kukuma, son of Al Haji, 1652-1660. In 1653 Adashu, Sarkin Kororofa, came and attacked Kano, and battered down Kofan Kawayi.

(5) Dadi, son of Bawa, 1670-1703. The year after his succession Sarkin Kororofa came and took Kano; entering by the Kofan Gadon Kaya, he destroyed the best part of the town. Sarkin Kano attacked him, but was defeated with great slaughter and fled to Daura. The Jukunawa followed him as far as Jelli and then retired.

Zaria.—The Jukun conquered Zaria. They followed a route through the Angas, mounting the plateau at Pankshin. Trees which had grown up from the stakes they had thrust into the ground and to which their horses had been tethered were still (in 1908) pointed out. On one of their return journeys from Zaria, the army was encamped at the western foot of the plateau, just south of the Zaria Rukubas. A party of horsemen who had gone out to forage—or, according to another account, a large party of grass cutters who had gone to cut grass for the horses—on returning to their quarters found the army had broken down and had disappeared. After some discussion they decided to remain where they were, and thus became the forebears of the little settlement of Jukuns still to be found in the locality.

Bornu.—Bornu Chronicles seen by Dr. Barth mentioned that in the reign of Ali Ben El Hadj Amar, A.D. 1645-1684, the capital was besieged by the Jukun and Tuareg.

The Jukun record sufficiently justified them in supposing that they could measure themselves with the kingdom of Bornu, while still in the heyday of its powers, as well as with Kano. It is a matter of history that they marched against Gazargamo, the Bornu capital, and were routed (see p. 35).

There is little doubt but that this pagan state existed during several centuries and suffered the rises and falls common to all the Sudan States. Bornu appears to have kept up constant intercourse with Kororofa, and this state was the only one looked upon as their equal by the Jukun. An almost autonomous colony existed in the Bornu capital and another in Bida, whilst a colony of Beriberi lived in Kororofa. The title, common in Bornu, of Zanuwa or Ambassador also survived in Wukari up to 1912 (see p. 36).

At one time or another this kingdom extended from the 12th meridian to the Niger, south to the Cross river and north to the borders of Bornu and the varying limits of the Central Hausa States. At various times its suzerainty included Kano, Bornu, the Arago kingdom of Doma, the Igbira or Kwotto kingdom of Panda, and the dominions of the Atta of Idah on the lower Niger. In 1894 the French Lieutenant Mizon wrote that they had probably conquered the ocean and had certainly been in touch with Europeans. In D'Anville's map of Africa, 1727, "Courourfa" is shown as occupying the country south of Bornu and Zamfara.

Strange to say, no tradition exists to-day as to the fall of this powerful tribe and of their capital. Even the name Kororofa has

disappeared, though it seems to have persisted down to about 1860. The state may have eventually weakened through what appears to have been a breaking away from Kororofa of its dominant party in the 17th century, and then have crumbled away, at Puje and (later) Wukari as well as at Kororofa before the insidious advance of the Fulani, helped as is always the case by treachery from within.

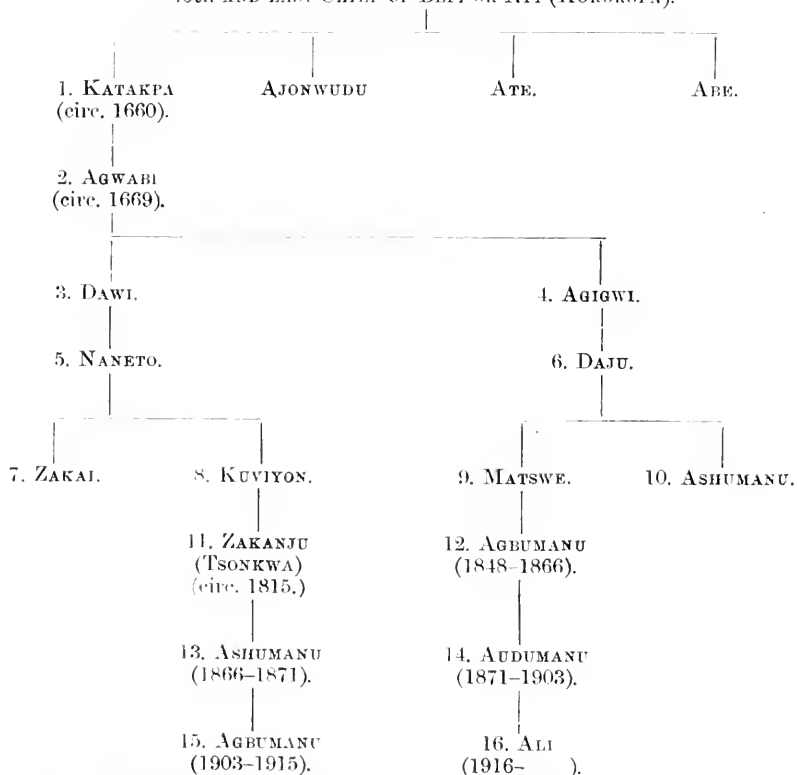
About 1815, frightened at the defection of one of their notables, Angyu of Dampar, the Jukun at Kororofa melted away before Buba Yero of Gombe and Abubakar, Alkalin Dagara, and Burba of Bakundi (now a district of Muri Emirate) finally destroyed what was left of Kororofa about 1860. The Jukun fled westward and settled in the country, then uninhabited, which is now the district of Kassan Chikki (round Awe), to the north of the Benue and amongst the Munshis to the south of that river. Later a remnant returned and founded (or rebuilt) Wukari their present capital.*

(b) *Wukari.*

Genealogical Table of Wukari Chiefs.

AGBUKINJO

10th AND LAST CHIEF OF BEPI OR API (KOROROFA).



* NOTE.—See p. 52 and note. Wukari was rebuilt on the present site at about this period by Zakanju (p. 37). The former town on the site Puje close by was built in the 17th century by Katakpa (p. 35).

The transfer of the capital of the Jukun kingdom from Api (Kororofa) to Puje (Wukari) probably took place soon after the middle of the seventeenth century. The reason for the transfer is shrouded in mystery, but the following is the Jukun legend:—

Agbukinjo, the fortieth chief, when an old man, and feeling his end approaching, sent for his two eldest sons, Katakpa and Ajonwudu, who had founded the town of Wukari. At the same time he sent his two younger sons, Ate and Abe, who lived in Kororofa, but who lacked respect for him, off on a hunting trip. On Katakpa's arrival he gave him all the articles connected with the chieftainship, collected the people, and pointing to their new chief, said "follow him across the river" (*i.e.*, river Donga), adding that the canoeman to take him across must be a deaf man. After Katakpa had gone, Agbukinjo, accompanied by a youth went to a "Kiriya" tree and clapped his hands, whereupon the trunk split open; Agbukinjo stepped inside and the trunk closed around him. The youth alone was left in Kororofa when the brothers Ate and Abe came back. Having obtained from him information of what had happened, they followed up Katakpa's tracks and arrived on the bank of the river to find everyone safely on the other side, and Katakpa, the last person, in a canoe nearly there. They called upon the canoeman to return, but the canoeman being deaf, did not hear them, and went on his way; whereupon Ate and Abe became so incensed that they each hurled rocks to try and sink the canoe. The rocks, however, fell close together on the further bank, and are supposed to be the origin of the hill Agyoyaku (meaning "the beginning of our ancestor"), better known by its Hausa name "Matarfada."

Katakpa, son of Agbukinjo, reigned somewhere about 1660, and was the first chief of Wukari, which town he had built at Puje, about three miles east of the present site. The annual fetich rites are still performed on the site of the settlement, of which no trace now exists.

Shortly after his succession he invaded Bornu*, marched against its capital Gazargamo, and was routed under peculiar circumstances. It so happened that when Katakpa's army encamped before Gazargamo on its south side, a Tuareg army encamped on its north side, and neither knew of the other's existence. The inhabitants of the city, however, could see both, and being unable to cope with such a combination, were soon reduced to despair. In the pervading gloom a man was heard to laugh. He was indignantly hailed before the Sultan, who inquired the cause, at such a moment, of his merriment. He replied that it was ludicrous to see everyone plunged into such grief when the remedy was so simple. His plan was that the Shehu should send a deputation secretly to make terms with one of his opponents, and then, joining his army with them, should fall on the other. The

* NOTE.—The Jukun tradition explicitly states that this expedition was undertaken from Puje (Wukari), also the expedition to Kano in the next chief's reign.

Shehu's choice fell on the Tuaregs, and concerting measures with them he attacked and routed the Jukun.

The story goes that when the fighting had become very fierce Sarkin Bornu prayed for assistance and flames were seen creeping along the ground towards the Jukun camp. In the ensuing confusion Sarkin Wukari in his turn prayed for help, whereupon tremendously heavy rainstorms burst on them, putting out the flames. In the midst of the storm the Jukun army retired. Subsequently Sarkin Bornu sent a deputation, whose message, consisting of ginned cotton surrounding live cinders, carried in a large basket, was duly delivered, neither the cotton being burnt nor the cinders dead. Sarkin Wukari was very pleased to receive the message and in return sent his messengers, who safely delivered his answer, which was a large basket made of "Iwa" containing water. The Bornu message was intended to convey to the Jukun the fact that Sarkin Bornu was powerful enough to come and destroy the Jukun if he so wished, and the answer was that the the Jukun were equally confident that they could destroy the Bornu armies if they attempted such a thing.

Peace and friendship having thus been ratified, ambassadors were accredited to each court. The Jukun representative at the Bornu court was known as Ajifinge, and the Bornu representative at Wukari as "Fotson" or "Zanuwa," which title existed down to 1912, when the last holder left Wukari and settled at Katsina Ala.

Katakpa founded the towns of Arufu (Jukun name) and Akwana (Jukun, Angar, meaning "I refuse to go on"), and some time after his return to Wukari one Atsiyikpa, whom he had placed at Akwana, discovered salt, which is worked to this day. On its being reported to him, the Sarkin Wukari explained the fetich rites to be carried out to keep the salt with them and sent his principal adviser, Moi Agbu, to show the people. No Sarkin Wukari may ever visit the actual salt workings, and whenever he visits Akwana two days are necessary to perform certain rites consequent on his going there.

Agwabi, son of Katakpa, succeeded his father about 1669. He attacked and captured Kano about 1671. The Jukun say of him that he was such an enormous man that no horse could carry him, so that whenever he wished to travel or go to war, a hartebeeste had to be caught for him to ride. He died at Puje.

Matswe (ninth chief) appears to have been more enterprising than his predecessors since Agwabi. He crossed the Katsina Ala river and founded several new towns. The descendants of these people are said to be the Turu of Turumawa (Jukun, Tugyu). He crossed the Benue river at the mouth of the Katsina Ala river and from there travelled to Angowi, opposite Sinkai, where he died.

Ashumanu (tenth chief) also crossed the Benue. He founded (see note, p. 52) Wusai (Use) and Atsunza (Azara), and at the

latter place found salt. He also founded Akai (Akiri), Akekura (Awe) and Atsiye. The Wukari Kingdom was in this reign bounded on the north-west by Doma (Kujana was the furthest settlement). Sarkin Doma, however, recognised the Wukari chief to be head of the Jukun and used to pay his respect to him as such. Ashumanu died at Wusai (Use).

When Tsonkwa (eleventh chief, also known as Zakanju) succeeded, he was in charge of the Like (or Zampar) pagans and was residing at Takum (near present site of Takum town). In his reign the Fulani rose to power. It was to the intrigues of one Wuse Agbu with the Fulani, that the Jukun attributed an impending famine, which was only averted by their chief after Wuse Agbu had confessed and repented. Zakanju, after the harvest, sent Wuse Agbu to Bauchi to salute the Fulani chief. Seven days after his departure Zakanju sent orders to Tsinkai, Sufa, Wunufu, Kugisho, Kwuridu Tsufa and Abinsi (Abise) to collect all their canoes and bring them to Sufa, a village on the Benue. The chief and all his people had crossed the river when it was suddenly discovered that their great "war juju" had been forgotten and left behind. Messengers were hurriedly despatched to fetch it, but on reaching the spot they were horror struck to find one had turned into a hot water spring and another into a hill. (The spring and hill at Akiri.) This was taken as a sign that the Jukun chief should remain on the south side of the river Benue and is the origin of the tradition that no Sarkin Wukari was ever to cross that river again under penalty of sudden death overtaking him (but see p. 52).

Zakanju built the present town of Wukari. The Munshi were friendly and came to salute him and he appointed one of them, named Buryako, to the office of "Agaiya." Buryako was the first Munshi to accept an appointment from a Jukun chief.

Agbumanu (1848-1866) (twelfth chief), had dealings, some friendly, some the reverse, with the Dinyi tribe, which migrated during his time and which eventually settled at Donga (see under Takum and Donga). The first of them, one Galubuma, settled at Rafin Kadda, about 16 miles south of Wukari.

In Agbumanu's time Boshi, of Takum, raided as far as Wukari. Takum determined to live on friendly terms after a disastrous return from one of these raids when, so it is said, many were taken ill on the journey and died, while others were killed by lions and leopards.

Agbumanu suffered from Fulani adventures. Haman Sarkin Wase and Yerima Sali of Missau (Kano province) besieged Wukari. Munshis helped to defend the town. According to one version, both sides were worn out and Wukari gave in but supplied the starving Fulani force with food. The other version is that the Fulani retired and, swimming the Benue at Wusebuhu, took many of the Jukun villages on the north bank, while the rest accepted

them as overlords but continued to attend the Wukari festivals. Bishop Crowther, who accompanied the Pleiad expedition of 1854, mentions Wukari as independent but paying tribute to Bauchi. It is uncertain whether they ever paid regular tribute. There has been no such trace since the European occupation, but it seems probable that, recognizing the paramount power of the Fulani, they were wont to send presents of slaves to the Emirs of Bauchi, Zaria and Muri.

In this reign Wukari territory was also invaded by the Emir of Muri, Hamadu. Peace was afterwards established and cemented by a marriage alliance. Kororofa was broken up by Burba of Bakundi.

Ashumanu (1866-1871), thirteenth chief, was asked by Sarkin Donga (Donga) to help him coerce a fellow tribesman named Kwarai, who held the appointment of Nya and was head of Nyakwala (Yakola), and who would take no notice of him. Sarkin Donga crossed the river and joined Ashumanu. They followed the Jibu road until they got to Yakola, where they made camp. On the third day, while most of the fighting men were out getting food, the camp was attacked by Duna Sarkin Jibu, who had been joined by Bayaro, son of Sarkin Musulmi (Sokoto), from Lafiya, a fact of which the allied Wukari-Donga forces were ignorant and for which they paid dearly, as they were driven into the river and very few escaped. Sarkin Donga was one of the survivors, but his ally Ashumanu was drowned. Bayaro then circled round Wukari, successfully attacked Gidan Kike, a town a few miles west of Wukari, returned to Ibi and crossed back to the north.

Audumanu (1871-1903) had considerable trouble with the Munshi, so he sent to Burba, Sarkin Muri, for help. Burba himself came and the combined Fulani-Jukun forces raided the Munshi. Shortly after Burba's return to Muri he was deposed.

The Munshi again gave trouble and Nya, Sarkin Muri, himself responded to Audumanu's appeal and marching via Jibu joined the Wukari force which entered the Munshi country. Some of the Munshi submitted and others resisted, but were overcome.

Shortly after this expedition Audumanu heard of the presence of a redoubtable warrior named Dankoro at Lafiya, so he sent for him and gave him command of his forces, stationing him at Abaka, whence he led expeditions against the Munshi. Dankoro's reputation brought many recruits to him, and these men eventually took to stealing and annoying the Jukun.

Dankoro was destined to be a troublesome pest to the Jukuns and others for upwards of thirty years. Sundry combinations were formed, both with and against him. From time to time Muri, Bakundi, Jibu, Bantaji, Suntai, Donga joined in on one side or the other. He allied himself with some of the Munshis, and at one time the Jukuns of Akwana and that neighbourhood had perforce to obey his orders. He gave out that that part of the country

was his, and he refused to have any dealings with Sarkin Wukari. He surrendered to the latter at Arafu after a month's siege, but escaped. On another occasion he fell upon the Jukuns with Munshi assistance, and burned their war fetich which was supposed to render missiles harmless. Eventually the Niger Company were forced to take action (see p. 10).

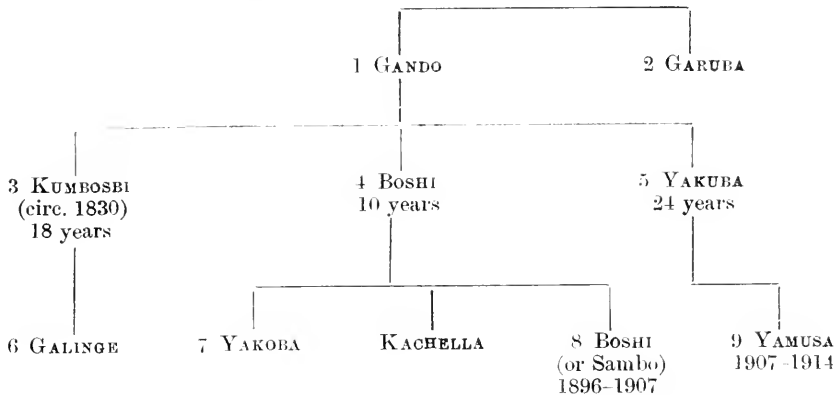
Agbumanu (1903-1915) had the appearance and presence of a potentate, but the Jukun prestige continued to fall. His representative, Moi Agiyo Nyafa, accompanied the Resident Captain Ruxton to Abinsi to inaugurate taxation among the Munshis under Wukari auspices, but the experiment was not repeated, though later on Wukari made the appointment of a few Munshi chiefs at Arafu with the Resident's help.

Ali (1916-) was chosen from the other branch of Jukun chiefs. These two branches seem to have alternated fairly regularly since the migration from Kororofa (see Table).

In 1917 a limit was set to the encroachment of the Munshis, whose gradual advance threatened to swallow up Jukun land across the Wukari-Takum road and in the Arafu district where the industrial towns Arafu (galena) and Akwana (salt) were becoming isolated. A fairly large area is open to Jukun immigration, and it is hoped that Wukari may recover something of its past position.

3.—TAKUM DISTRICT.

Genealogical Table of Tikari Chiefs.



The inhabitants of Takum, Donga and Suntai all came from the Tibati district of Cameroons and migrated much the same time, about 1830, under Fulani pressure from Yola. The Takum people belong to the Tikar tribe, and those of Donga and Suntai to the Chamba division of the Dinyi tribe. The Suntai people came via Beli (in Bakundi district of Muri) under the leadership of one Gungoram, and after a friendly reception from the Jukuns settled at Donga. The Donga people also came via Beli, under one

Galboshi, to Markam near Takum, where they quarrelled with the Tikari over the subjugation of the hill pagans of the cannibal Zumper tribe and in rivalry for overlordship. The Tikari had come in two parties, one led by their chief Garuba, who settled at Zenoa near Takum, the other by his brother Gando's three sons, Gando himself having been killed by Fulani before the tribe scattered. These sons, Kumboshi, Boshi and Yakoba, had at first settled west of Takum in a Munshi district near the river Gamana, but joined Garuba in order to subdue the Zumper chief, Sarkin Markam. Garuba was killed and Kumboshi continued the conquest of the Zumper, forcing them to come down to live in the plains in or near Takum and retaining their chief a prisoner in Takum till his death. The chief operations were at Lissam and Kunabai, which latter, an almost impregnable hill, took three or four years to subdue. Their original name was Likam, but they were called Zumper (cannibal) by the Tikari.

Galboshi, the Chamba leader, had refused to co-operate, and on refusing to pay tribute to Kumboshi's successor Boshi, he was attacked and killed. His son Gurki decided, no doubt wisely, to move from the sphere of Tikar settlement, and after vicissitudes at Wukari and at Ibi, where he was hard pressed by Lamido Kusa of Jibu, he and his people reached Donga with the help of their kinsmen who had preceded them, and settled there about 1850.

Boshi fought also against Agbumanu of Wukari (see p. 37) and received slaves from him. He is said to have paid 60 slaves annually in tribute to Sokoto.

The third brother, Yakoba, succeeded. He was unable to keep the Zumper pagans under control away from their natural homes, so they returned to the hills, but henceforward paid tribute to Takum.

Kumboshi's son, Galinge, received a Sokoto flag from the Sarkin Mussulmi of Sokoto.

Yakoba, seventh chief, suffered much from his rebellious brother, Kachella, who was subdued not without difficulty by the Royal Niger Company (see p. 8).

Boshi, eighth chief (1896-1907), settled down under Government administration, but was deposed for slave dealing and died at Amar. His successor Yamusa was deposed in 1914 for the same cause and died at Ibi in 1917.

Amadu (1914-), a grandson of Yakoba, Sarkin Markam, the Zumper chief mentioned above, had been in charge of the Zumpers, who had been separated from Takum owing to Yamusa's extortionate practices and formed into a district containing all the Zumpers in the Province. On that chief's deposal the Takum and Zumper districts were amalgamated under Amadu.

Early in the war Takum was attacked by a German force which was driven off by police under Major Churcher and Commander Waters, and was occupied by troops for the remainder of the

campaign (see p. 70). Amadu received a gratuity from the Government for his services during the war, and was given a third grade staff of office.

4.—DONGA DISTRICT.

Donga District now includes Suntai which was incorporated in 1913. The inhabitants—all pagans—emanate from the Chamba portion of the Dinyi tribe. For their migration from Tibati see under Takum. The Donga and Suntai parties united at Donga about 1850, under their respective chiefs, Garbarni and Gurki. Soon afterwards, Gurki having been succeeded by his son Donga, a famine produced dissension and the Suntai section broke away.

Donga (1852-1877) turned his attention to the hills of Gonkwe and tried to subdue them: the fighting seems to have dragged on for some years and then to have died of exhaustion. He nearly lost his life with Ashumanu, Sarkin Wukari, in a fight at Yokola (see p. 38).

Galbarni (1877-1892), attacked Namma, a town in the Cameroons, 50 miles south-east of Donga, but had to retire. This was about 1889.

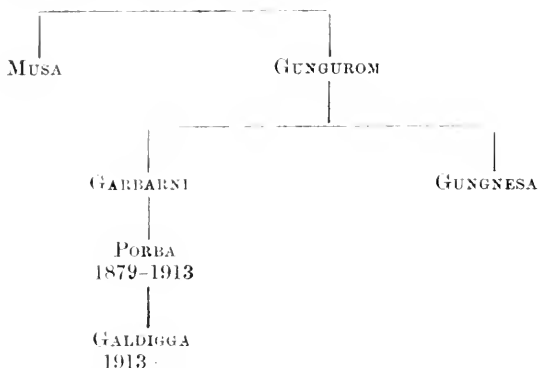
In 1885 a treaty was signed between the King of Donga, Bilia (or Galbarni), and the Niger Company, Mr. D. McIntosh signing as British Vice-Consul and Mr. W. Wallace as witness.

Shoinga (1892-1910), helped Yakoba of Takum for a time in his struggle against the rebel Kachella, see under Takum.

Wanga, the present chief, succeeded his brother in 1910. In 1913 Suntai was incorporated in his district, and during the year numbers of natives from the Cameroons crossed over and settled in it. During the Cameroon campaign, 1914-15, there was a British post at Tissa, and movement of troops throughout the district. In 1916 a pagan of Nukko, a self-styled "Mahdi," who went by the name of "Mairigan Karifi" or the "invulnerable one," raided the surrounding villages and eventually went to attack Donga town itself. He was wounded when quite close to it and retired; the Resident, Mr. Fremantle, with 20 police, followed him up and surprised and captured him at Nukko hill. He was convicted on a charge of murder and executed at Nukko in 1917. But for his timely arrest it appeared that the rising would have spread and assumed serious proportions.

One result of the occupation of this part of the Cameroons by the British was the migration in 1916-1917 of large numbers of the natives who had settled (see above) in the Suntai portion of the Donga district in 1913 and who now took the opportunity of returning to their old homes.

SUNTAI.—TABLE OF SUNTAI CHIEFS.



For early history see under Takum. When, in about 1852, the Suntain section of the Chamba broke away from Donga (see above) they were transported by river to Jibu, where they stayed for three years, thus becoming tributary to Muri. Then Garbarni, their chief, complained to the Emir of Muri that the Chamba were being unfairly taxed. The Emir sent for Garbarni to confer with him at Wurio and gave him permission to settle there. The Chamba arrived at Wurio in 1860 and remained there seven years, during which time Garbarni died and was succeeded by his brother Gungnesa.

Gungnesa frequently complained to Burba that they were too heavily taxed and eventually permission was given him to move on to Grauri and form a distinct town. The land there, however, was bad for farming, and permission was sought and obtained for the tribe to move across the Suntain river and settle on the present site of Suntain. Gungnesa died after they had been at Suntain for six years and was succeeded by his nephew Porba.

Porba (1879-1913), at the commencement of his reign, paid tribute to Burba, Sarkin Bakundi. The tribute consisted chiefly of slaves who were procured from various tribes of the Cameroons. The tax was only paid once a year, and does not seem to have ever been heavy. About 1890 Mr. McIntosh, of the Royal Niger Company, passed through Suntain on his way to Bakundi, and was well received. Porba's gallant defence of Suntain against the Royal Niger Company troops is described on p. 10.

In 1907 the river Suntain was fixed as the boundary between Suntain and the Bakundi district of the Muri Emirate.

Prior to the completion of the demarcation of the Cameroon boundary in 1913 the border villages suffered much from raids by German soldiers.

On Porba's death in 1913 the Suntain district was absorbed in the Donga district, their old feuds being forgotten, except as history.

E.—TSHENDAM DIVISION.

I.—ANKWE DISTRICT.

All the tribes of the Ankwe district are clans of one ethnological group, and speak dialects of the same language. They are the Ankwe, Montol, Piapum, Kanum, Angaras (or Doka), Miriam, Dimmuk, Kwolla, Bwol, Gworom, Ladan, and Bogolon. They are all pagans.

Connected with these, ethnologically and by language, are several tribes of the Bauchi province, Angass, Sura, Thal, Dollong (or Pai), and the clans of the Chokfien tribe in the Kaleri (south-west) district of the plateau. An intelligent Ankwe can converse with the people of Jallam (Chokfien); and the Ankwe and Montol speak of each other as “Jan” (the word is the same as Angass), or “twins,” owing to their common origin.

Whether any or all of these tribes at any former time when their population was less numerous and less widely dispersed, were ever concentrated under a single authority of their own, is open to doubt, but they were, probably, all of them, two or three centuries ago, subject to Jukun rule.

The tradition of the Ankwe tribe is that their ancestor came from the Lalin section of the Montol pagans under the foot hills of the Bauchi plateau. Where he found a wife is not known, but a son and daughter were born to him. His wife having died, he went to live by himself near a hill (indication is Jalban, a few miles north of Tshendam, the present capital of the Ankwe district), and farmed in order to provide for himself. He entered into a trance and meanwhile his two children intermarried and bore children. The time came when the grandchildren, wishing to know who their grandfather was, set out to find him. After much search they found his body covered with grass but with one eye open. The children made every effort to resuscitate the body but without avail; they even employed snakes and iguanas. At last they brought small-pox, whereupon he coughed and arose. He then directed his grandchildren to bury him under the hill Mata Fada (in the foot hills); they were to pray to him and, as long as they did so, they would be fruitful and multiply and have plenty. The spot where their ancestor is said to be buried is now the home of their “tsafi” and pilgrimages are made, though to do so the Ankwe have to approach the spiritual head of the Montols, in whose territory Mata Fada is situated.

Another version is that the Ankwe ancestor was an Angaras man who came and settled near the Montols and married a Montol woman.

The Ankwe were originally a hill tribe living on Pan Iarop, in the foot hills, and north of the hill Mata Fada. About 200

years ago Logni, the first known chief, brought them to the plain and they settled at Mudut, just south of Mata Fada. As the land at Mudut got farmed out, they moved east to Kwoblong (near Nut), living there for 40 years; thence they seem to have moved frequently, from Kwoblong to Ungu (near Yelwa), then to Midgal between Yelwa and Damshin, then to Kwopkup, near Mount Jalban; from here they went and built Tshendam, but after two years they moved to Ganuwar Piship, on the river Shamankar, half-way to Kurgwi.

While living at Piship the brother of their chief Bigum joined with Yelwa, Kwande, Tariniya and Shemankar, and drove him and his people to Namu. From Namu they settled at Kurgwi, then at Doka, thence to Pagaas, Yulbi, and Mount Jalban, where they remained for 20 years before finally resettling at Tshendam towards the end of the last century.

Previous to their conquest by the Fulani the Ankwe were tributary to Kororofa. About 1820 Yakubu of Bauchi over-ran the country of the Ankwe and reduced all their walled and stockaded towns. They became tributary to Bauchi and were placed under Hassan, Madaki of Bauchi, who built Wase. The Fulani succeeded in disintegrating the country, though the Ankwe still recognised the ancient headship of Tshendam, the chiefs of which town always deny that they themselves were ever conquered by Wase. The first Europeans to visit the country were with Capt. Williams' patrol from Ibi in 1899; two years later Tshendam was taken by Lieutenants Eckersley and Ross without opposition.

The process of reconsolidating the Ankwe tribe was begun in 1907 during the reign of Donkwop (twenty-first chief) and on the occasion of the death of Sarkin Wase in 1909 and the installation of his successor Abdulahi, the opportunity was taken by the Resident, Captain Ruxton, to free the Ankwe from the nominal control of Wase.

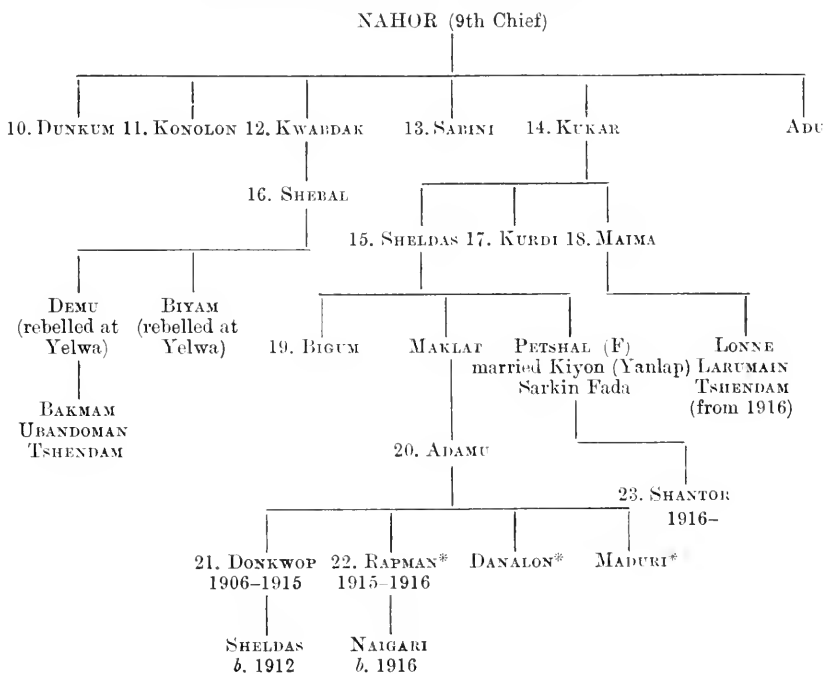
In 1909 the administration of the lawless tribes inhabiting the north-west corner of the province was undertaken, and having been punished by a patrol under Capt. Feneran, which met with considerable opposition, they were formed into an administrative district (Kwolla), under Mr. Fitzpatrick, Assistant Resident, stationed at Garkawa. In 1910 the station was transferred to Keffin Fan in the Kwolla tribe, and the Ankwe town of Namu and its subsidiary villages were taken away from Sarkin Ankwe and included in the Kwolla district, which, however, ceased to exist as an administrative unit at the end of 1912, being absorbed in Ibi division.

In 1913 the Namu section of the Ankwe, the Ankwe Angaras (Doka), Miriam and Montol pagans and, later in the same year, the Bwol, Dimmuk, Garkawa, Gworom, Kwolla and Yergam pagans were incorporated in the Ankwe district.

In 1913 Yelwa (or Yellua), a robber stronghold on the main Ibi-Wase-Bauchi road, peopled by ex-slaves from Wase and forming an independent town, was broken up and the people scattered, some being allowed to found a new settlement at Inshar, close by. This area was added to the Ankwe district.

After the death of Haji, head of the Benue district of Dampar, the Ankwe villages Ajikeme, Lakushi, Yamini, and Kuka, situated on the Ibi-Tshendam-Naraguta road, were in 1916 transferred from Dampar to the Ankwe district.

Genealogical Table of Ankwe Chiefs.



Of the recent chiefs, Adamu (twentieth chief) appears to have founded the existing town of Tshendam.

Donkwop (twenty-first chief, 1906-1915) was a capable and energetic chief and in his time the district recovered independence and developed as described above. He took an active interest in the war and *inter alia* sent a present of cattle to the troops employed on the Muri-Cameroon Boundary a few days before his death.

Rapman (twenty-second chief, 1915-1916) succeeded his brother at the age of about 27. He with his two remaining younger brothers were killed at Pal by the Montols on 30th July, 1916, when the latter tribe attacked and killed Mr. F. E. Maltby.

* Killed at Pal by Montols on 30th July, 1916.

A.D.O. Rapman was an enlightened and promising chief and his loss, occurring so soon after that of Dunkwop, and under such circumstances, was a heavy blow to the native administration.

Shantor (twenty-third chief, 1916-) was Kasun (Wambai) during the lifetime of the three foregoing chiefs. Being the only survivor of the massacre of 1916 with sufficient authority he was appointed District Head.

Districts absorbed in Ankwe.

(a) *Bwol*.—It is believed that the small tribe of Bwol migrated from the hills under pressure from the Tal tribe. The tribe was engaged in many tribal wars and was at one time driven back to the hills by the Dimmuk tribe who occupied the Bwol valley for a short time until compelled to evacuate.

(b) *Dimmuk* (c) *Gworom*.—Like other tribes inhabiting the northern part of the district it is believed that the Dimmuk migrated from the hills under pressure. They were continually fighting with the neighbouring tribes. At one time, as mentioned above, they forced the Bwol people out of their valley. In former years a voluntary offering was made to Sarkin Namu (an Ankwe district west of Tshendam) in return for his protection against the Kwolla and Kurgwi. This offering had elapsed before they were visited in 1909. The small tribe of Gworom look upon Sarkin Dimmuk as their suzerain, although the Bwol tribe lies between them.

(d) *Miriam*.—The history of the Miriam tribe seems to be made up of the usual fights with its neighbours. They also suffered from Fulani raids. While Moma Angwe was Sarkin Lafia and Magaji Sarkin Keffi, they were joined by Bayaro, the Sokoto raider, and Milman, Sarkin Kwande (an Ankwe district), in raiding them. Such raids continued until the European occupation.

(e) *Ankwe Angaras*.—The Ankwe Angaras are more recent immigrants from the hills. They are a section of the Ankwe tribe. Their chief village is Doka on the Tshendam-Jos road.

(f) *Montol*.—The Montols have but a vague idea of their past. It seems that the Montols never lived in the hills, but always dwelt around Mata Fada, which is their chief religious spot. They have always been a source of fear to the neighbouring tribes, and have had many fights with them, especially the Yergam on the east and the Tal, a hill tribe living in the hills on the north.

The Fulani, according to both Montol and Wase history made one raid about 1882, but were surprised at night and routed.

There have been numerous punitive patrols against them, in July, 1899, June, 1901, September, 1902, June, 1904, August, 1905, and in February, 1909, when the Government took very severe measures against them for highway robbery. The last expedition against them was in August, 1916, when they were severely punished for the murder of Mr. F. E. Maltby, A.D.O., Rapman, Chief of the Ankwe district, and 58 others.

(g) *Kwolla*.—The Kwolla are believed to have migrated under pressure from the southern hills of Bauchi about 1835. They were never conquered by the Fulani, but were subject to occasional raids, the last taking place about 1890. Latterly the tribe followed Sarkin Namu (the Ankwe district west of Tshendam). They took part in the usual tribal wars. In 1909 they were subdued by Captain Feneran after a short but spirited fight, in which they charged right up to the closed ranks of the patrol.

2.—WASE DISTRICT.

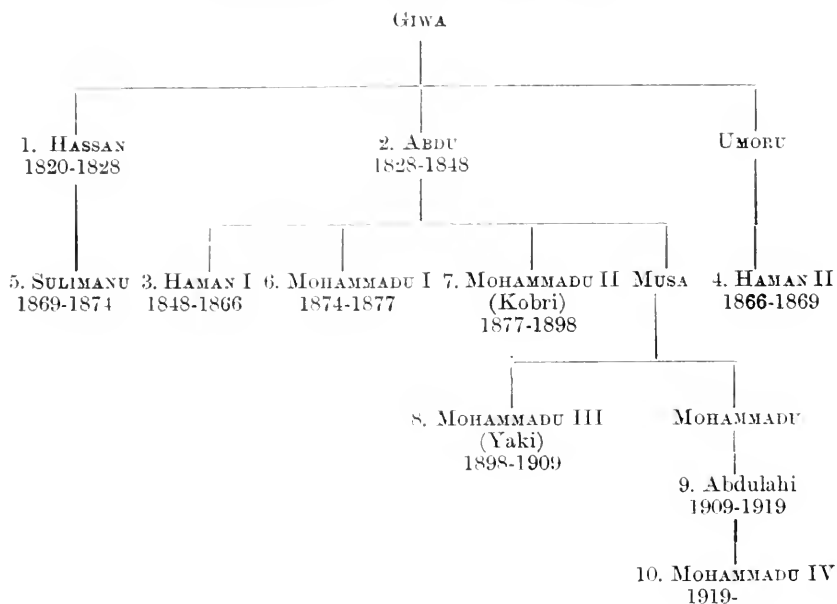
Table of Bashar Chiefs.

1. TOKTA.	2. YAMUSA.	3. KARU	4. ABUBAKR 1838-1877	
5. LIBLAM 1877-1878	6. NUHU 1878-1886	MADAKIN BASHAR 1886-1892 (Interregnum)	7. USUMANU 1892	8. ALIYU 1892-1911
10. USUMAN ILLA 1911-				

The Basharawa were pagans living in the Wase district before the arrival of the Fulani from Bauchi. They originally came from Konkiok in Bornu and settled near a small hill close to the present town of Gaduk. The first chief was Tokta, who as he got old took off his turban and made Yamusa chief. Yamusa moved further south and settled near the present site of Wase town, which was at that time part of the Jukum state of Kororofa. About 1820, Yakubu, the founder of Bauchi, came with Madakin Hassan and drove them out of the town and ordered them to settle round Wase Tofa hill (west of Wase). He deposed Yamusa and made Karu chief. Hearing that the Yergam were preparing to attack Wase Tofa, Yamusa persuaded Karu to move back again to Wase, but instead of settling there they went about three miles further north and built Ganua. Whilst at Ganua, Karu offended Madaki Hassan, who arrested him and took him to Bauchi. Yamusa was then reinstated, but Karu contrived to bring about his downfall by bringing to light the fact that he had sold some runaway Bauchi slaves. Karu was thereupon reinstated but, being afraid of Madaki Hassan, moved from Ganua to Gworom, a place about five miles south-east of the present Bashar town. He died after three years at Gworom and was succeeded by Abubakr, whose grandfather had been driven from Bornu by the continual slave raiding of the Bornu chiefs.

Abubakr (1838-1877) a year after becoming chief moved and built the present town of Bashar, which is 22 miles east of Wase.

The Madakin Bashar (1886-1892) acted as chief until he was driven out by Kobri, Sarkin Wase, who then appointed Usumanu, but the Emir of Bauchi deposed Usumanu and appointed his brother, Aliyu (1892-1911).

Genealogical Table of Wase Chiefs.

Giwa, a Fulani living at Wuro Maiyo in Bauchi, was the original founder of the Wase dynasty. He came to the Wase country, and as he liked it he continued going backwards and forwards for five years, making friends with the Jukun who were living near the present town of Wase. Giwa died at Wuro Maiyo about 1816, leaving three sons, Hassan, Abdu and Umoru.

Hassan became Madakin Bauchi and then told the Emir of Bauchi, Yakubu, about the country his father had liked so much. About 1820 Yakubu came and annexed the country, giving it to Hassan, who built the present town of Wase. He conquered the whole of the Ankwe tribe (but see under Ankwe) and Kassar Chikki, which actually remained under Wase's rule up to 1901, and nominally continued to do so up to the death of Sarkin Wase Mohammedu in 1909. Wase was captured by the Royal Niger Company's troops in 1898, and in March, 1902, Sarkin Wase was released from vassalage to Sarkin Bauchi.

The following are extracts from the manuscript of Mallam Mustafha, tutor to the sons of Yakubu, first Emir of Bauchi:—

"First Emir Yakubu . . . conquered the Basharawa and passed on to the Montol and Yergam; he conquered them and passed to Ankwe and Dan Tshendam, Dan Namu, Dan Kwande (Ankwe

district), Awe, Azara (Kassan Chikki district) Wukari he conquered them and returned to Bauchi (circ. 1820).

“ Second Emir Ibrahim, son of Yakubu in the third year of his reign made a war and went to the Montol and fought with them and conquered them and returned home (circ. 1863).

“ Fourth Emir Umaru made a war and went to Kwinkwiyam and burnt their town and passed on and came to Wase where he remained while all the people came and saluted him there. Then he arose and returned home.”

Hassan (1820-1828), the founder of Wase, lived there for about 10 years and died at Pakai in Kano, having been called by Yakubu to help him fight the Bornu invaders, who, under Shehu Lamino, about 1828 nearly overran Kano but were checked by the Sokoto allies. On Hassan's death Yakubu appointed his brother Abdu.

Abdu (1828-1848) was the first Wase Chief to be styled Sarkin Dutsi, a title which is retained to this day. (Wase town is built about two miles north of a precipitous rock (Dutsi) rising about 800 feet out of the plain.) Abdu appears to have been ambitious and extended his sway beyond Lafia to Burum-burum, this place by agreement with Sarkin Zaria being his western boundary. A *kiriya* tree planted to mark the spot was still to be seen in 1913. He seems to have been continually fighting the Yergam.

Haman (1848-1866) was also ambitious and was always out fighting or raiding. He kept a base fighting camp at Kiliar in Yergam.

Sulimanu (1869-1874), a son of Madaki Hassan, was not popular and after joining with the Ankwe to capture the town of Yelwa, which they failed to do, he found the gates of his own town shut against him on his return. He fled to Dampar which soon after was unsuccessfully attacked by Kobri (afterwards seventh chief of Wase). Sulimanu then went to Yergam and was eventually killed, it seems, in an attempt to re-enter Wase.

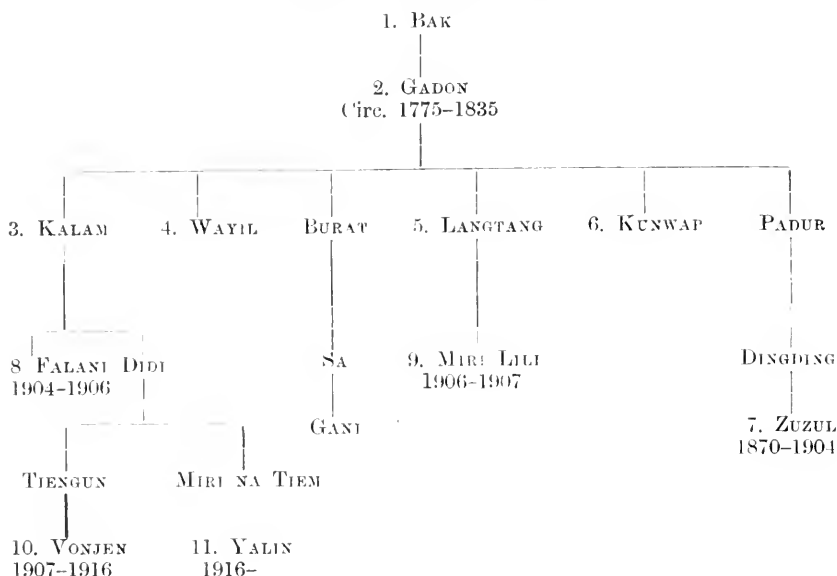
Mohammadu II. (1877-1898) was known as Kobri. He was killed in 1898 when the troops of the Royal Niger Company attacked and captured Wase (see p. 9). About 1892 he made a raid on the Montols but was surprised and routed.

Mohammadu III. (1898-1909) was also known as “ Yaki.” In 1902 Wase was made independent of Bauchi. On Mohammadu's death the nominal control exercised by Wase over the Ankwe tribe and Kassan Chikki came to an end.

Mohammadu IV. (1919-) the present chief was educated at the Kano and Bauchi Provincial Schools.

Districts absorbed in Wase.(a) *Yergam.*

Yergam ('Tarok) Tribe.



Yergam is the Hausa name for the Tarok tribe. Tarok or Talok indicates the people who have spread or "overflowed" from Tal, Tal being a tribe on the Bauchi hills.

Bak and another son of the chief of the Tal tribe had a quarrel over a marriage, so they both left, Bak becoming the founder of the Tarok section and his brother of another section, Gazum. Bak had two children, a boy and a girl, who on growing up married each other because they were not able to find other mates. The son's name was Gadon and he settled at Iche, the place where the fetish of the Yergam tribe is situated.

Gadon (c. 1775-1825) succeeded his father and became the first Sarkin Yergam of Pungi Tarok. He had several sons, some of whom subsequently succeeded to the chieftainship. Of others one named Burat also married his own sister and begat the Burat unit. Burat's son, Sa, also married his own sister and his descendants formed the Sa or Gani unit of the tribe. Sa was sent to settle further afield to protect the crops from monkeys.

One day when Gadon was out hunting, he met a Jukun. Not understanding each others language, they spoke by signs and asked each other for tobacco. Another day they met again and Gadon

asked permission to settle on land near Wase, which was Jukun territory. (There was no town of Wase at the time.) Shortly afterwards Madakin Hassan founded Wase (1820) and conquered the Jukun settlements, the chief of whom lived at Wase Tofa. The latter led the Fulani to the Yergam, who were ordered to hand over to the Fulani a young man of appearance similar to the Fulani men. The Yergam did so and twice the youth ran away and was handed back to the Fulani. On the third occasion, Gadon having been succeeded by his son Kalam, the Yergam refused to hand him over again, whereupon the Fulani raided them. The Yergam retaliated and also attacked the Jukun, whom they blamed for bringing the Fulani to attack them.

Gadon's head is said to be buried under the fetich mound at Iche.

The Yergam and Ankwe were friendly at this time and Kalam was given, as a sign of friendship, by the Sarkin Ankwe then living at Pantamu (Jallam)—an ivory pin similar to that worn (in their hair) by the Ankwe chiefs. The sign of the Yergam chief prior to this was a "Ruzu" or cap made of network like a bag.

There was constant warfare up to the end of the century with the Fulani, which sometimes partook also of the nature of civil war. Of the three sections of the Yergams Gani and Burat each sided with the Fulani more than once. Burat helped Kobri of Wase against Sulimanu, ex-chief of Wase (see above), who came from Dampar to Langtang and to Pil (near Gani) when Zuzal was the Yergam chief. Langtang the third section was the recognised head, but Gani and Burat broke away from time to time, in particular after a famine in Zuzal's time.

In Wavil's time the Yergams fought with the Burmawa (Kanam in Bauchi Province). Zuzal fought the Kwallak tribe for a year. In 1902 British troops entered the district for the first time, and again in 1904, when he was deposed. In the time of his successor, Falani, the one and only known fight took place between the Yergam and the Garkawa. The quarrel arose because the Garkawa performed their fetich rites before the Yergams had cut their crops, thus endangering the crop: but the spirits were appeased by the blood spilt in the fight and peaceful relations were resumed.

The present chief Yalin in 1918 succeeded in re-uniting the Gani and Burat sections of the tribe with his own Langtang section. The Yergam thus became again united under one chief. In 1919 the Garkawa also accepted Langtang as their head and the whole of Yergam was transferred to Wase district from Ankwe under whose nominal headship they had been since 1913.

(b) *Garkawa*.—The Garkawa are an off-shoot of the Jukun settlement of Dampar. They left Dampar early in the reign of its founder Haji Nyugbu and first went and settled on the top of a hill known as Dutsin Garkawa, now in the Langtang section of the Yergams and a few miles east of their present boundary with the Montols. The original Garkawa were a small body only and in Jukun language are called "Nya" meaning "scattered." After about 10 or 20 years they came down from the hill and built a

stockaded town near by where they were renowned for their prowess with bow and arrow and proved a constant source of trouble to most of their neighbours and to traders until punished by British troops.

They have always looked upon Dampar as their real home, but they kept entirely to themselves until they recently began to intermarry with some of their neighbours, the Montol, Yergam, and Ankwe.

They used to despise the Ankwe, but were friendly with the Montols, who often accompanied them on their marauding trips.

The Garkawa were nominally subservient to Sarkin Tshendam from 1913 to 1919, since when they have been under the control of the Yergam chief.

An extract from the High Commissioner's Northern Nigeria Report for 1904 is given in an appendix which illustrates the difficulties then confronting the Administration in these districts.

3.—KASSAN CHUKKI (AWE) DISTRICT.

Table of Awe Chiefs.

1. MOHAMMA
1821-1829

2. MALAM ABDO
1829-1855

3. KIYABUDU
1855-1861

5. ALHASSAN
1878-1881

4. BABA USUMAN
1861-1878

6. UMARU
1881-1898

8. SAYIDU
1901-1910

7. AHMADU
1898-1901

9. ADAMU
1910-

About 1815, when the Jukun town of Kororofa melted away before the onslaught of Buba Yero of Gombe, some of the inhabitants, including the Jukun chief, fled across the Benue to the district now known as Kassan Chikki and founded Awe, Azara, Use, etc. They nearly all left later to settle south of the river Benue and their failure to establish themselves gave rise to the superstition that no Wukari chief must cross the Benue to the north bank.*

About 1821, after founding Wase, Madaki Hassan of Bauchi conquered Awe, and Yakubu, Emir of Bauchi, appointed Mohammed, son of one Dadi of Katsina, to be chief of Awe and Kassar Chikki.

Mohamma's successor, Malam Abdu, grandfather of the present chief, was also a Katsina man.

This small district was separated from Wase in 1905. The administration of the villages then fell into some confusion, but cohesion was re-established in 1908. The title of the District Head is Sangarin Awe. The district is important by reason of its salt industry.

* NOTE.—The story is a little obscure. This version corresponds with that on p. 34, but from the version given on p. 36, these places were founded from Wukari (Puje site) by the Jakon Chief Ashumanu at a little earlier date, and the superstition against crossing the Benue is attributed to an incident in the reign of his successor Zakanju.

IV. INDUSTRIES.

There are two industries somewhat peculiar to the Muri province, viz., the working of salt and of antimony (commonly called antimony but probably the lead ore, galena). The former is carried on at Akwana in the Wukari district and at Awe in the Kassan Chikki district; also at Muri, Bomanda, Jebjeb and two or three other villages in the Muri district. The latter has its home at Arafu, a few miles east of Akwana. Antimony is also found at Zurak, a little village in the district of Wase, and about thirty miles north-east of that town, and was worked for a short time; but about 90 years ago Madaki Hassan of Wase ordered it to be shut down, so as to evade paying an extra tax on it to the Emir of Bauchi. It will, however, be reopened shortly.

The methods employed in both these industries are very simple.

(a) SALT.

The sub-soil water, by the action of its own surface tension, is brought to the surface of the earth and is there evaporated. In its passage through the soil it becomes saturated with salt which is left in patches as a thin filmy deposit, on the ground. This only occurs in the dry season for a bare three months, or, at any rate, is only workable for three months. The women scratch up the deposit together with an unavoidable amount of earth, and pile it up into small heaps "atswi" (the names in this description are Jukun words), with a scraper called "akika."

The apparatus used in the houses comprises a filter and an evaporator. The filter consists of a waterpot with holes in the bottom, called "aji," which is built up on a stand, over a removable pot underneath ("nupo"). The evaporator is a broad shallow earthenware dish "asun" placed over a fire on three supports made of earth and known as "tisin." If these supports were of stone they would crack the dish.

The salt earth is brought from the "atswi" piles and placed in the filter pot "aji." Over this is poured salt water brought from certain salt water holes. This filters through the earth, taking up its salt, into the "nupo" below. Thence it is transferred into the evaporator and, the water being boiled off, the salt is left behind in a crystalline form. It is slightly discoloured, having an ashy tint. The salt is scraped off with an implement "bigi" and is then ready for sale. The "bigi" is also called "bigi ahwama." The salt itself is "ma."

The whole of the operations are undertaken by the women, and the average day's work brings in 6d. worth of salt; the money is retained by the women, who, however, have to feed their men folk with it.

At the beginning of the season, the men perform the necessary "tsafi" rites, and consider that thereby their share of the work is done, as, if they did not make the propitiation, the women could obtain little or no salt, however hard they worked.

Natives prefer the flavour of the native salt to the imported salt. When Hausa traders take the foreign salt into pagan districts they find it necessary to adulterate it into a semblance of the Akwana salt before they can get a sale for it.

(b) ANTIMONY.

Kwunji, a very old man of Arafu, states that in the time of his grandfather a Jukum hunter, one Adda, came on a glittering black mass in the bush and mentioned it to a Hausa friend, who went to look at it and recognised it as "tozali." A report was made to the Sarkin Wukari, Matswe, who gave permission for it to be worked, reserving 20 per cent. of the output for himself.

The two "Sangaris" of the new town and the old town, together with their respective Madakis and Galadimas, supervise the operations.

A pit is dug tentatively in the neighbourhood of the original find, and if no "tozali" is discovered, another is dug a few yards off until the workers come across some. The locality is then worked deeper and deeper until a soil is reached which experience has taught contains no ore. The depth of the pit is also limited by the danger of the sides falling in. If the spot happens to be rich, short tunnels are made, but these cannot be carried far as the people have no idea of shoring or propping. Some of the pits are about fifty feet deep, and a tunnel may run eight feet. The soil is very loose and almost shingly, and a person standing on the edge may find himself sliding to the bottom of the pit with the mass of earth he has been standing on.

In the rains, and for some time after, the pits are full of water and are unworkable. Even in the dry season they fill gradually, like wells, from percolation through the sides and bottom. Operations can only be carried on for three months in the year.

Unless the pit is shallow, each day's work commences with emptying the water accumulated during the night. A number of men stand on such foothold as they can get, at different levels. Small earthenware pots, holding about a gallon each, are sent down to the man at the water level. He fills one and throws it upwards to the man next above him, who continues the process until the surface is reached, when the pot is emptied and put on the ground, until all those below have come up, when they are all sent down again, and the operation is commenced *de novo*,

and so on until the water is emptied. Some pits take from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. to empty. Accidents; never really serious, occasionally happen from a higher man failing to catch the pot thrown to him, when, of course, it falls into the pit again, perhaps hitting a man on the way down.

The workers get roughly a third of the day's collection; but if no ore is found they get nothing. A man's load of tozali weighs about 70 lb. and is known as an "aganga" (this is a Hausa word used by the Jukuns). A year's working may produce about 15 "aganga." Of this five have been paid to the workers, two are given to Sarkin Wukari, and the remaining eight nett belong to the officials of the town. An "aganga" is worth, at Arafu, from 15s. to 20s. and the profit at Kano would be 100 per cent. One pennyworth, in the Ibi and other local markets, will last a man or a woman for three to five years. It is used for beautifying the eyes.

In digging the pits an implement is used called a "kota" (Hausa and Jukun). It consists of a club about 20 inches long, with a large and heavy knob. Into this knob is fixed an iron wedge, called here by its Hausa name "siko" (known in some other parts as a "dundurusu"). Together with the "kota" is used an ordinary hoe (Hausa "makauchi," Jukun "buakago"). In digging, the earth is thrown to the surface in baskets, in the same way as the water. There is no Jukun word for this antimony, the people having adopted the Hausa word "tozali."

V. TOWNS.

The principal towns in the Muri Emirate are as follows:—

BAKUNDI.—Head town Bakundi district (Sarkin Kudu). Situated on the left bank of the River Taraba. Is the limit of navigation for steamer traffic at high water, *i.e.*, for about three months of the year, for small steamers of the Niger Company's "Benue" class. Niger Company trading store. The Germans entered the town in September, 1914, but never occupied it.

GASSOL.—Head town Gassol district (Sarkin Yamma). On right bank Taraba River.

GIDAN SARKIN YAKI.—Head village Lau district (Tafida).

JALINGO.—Capital of Emirate and Divisional Headquarters.

KARIM.—Head village Wurkum district (Ubandoma).

KWONA.—Head village Kwona district.

LAU.—Trading centre. Niger Company station. Port for Jalingo. Earliest Divisional Headquarters. Telegraph office.

MURI.—Head village Muri district (Yerima). A salt working centre.

MUTUM BIR.—Head village Mutum Bir district (Kachella). Capital of the Emirate and Divisional Headquarters from 1910 to 1916. Raided by Germans in April, 1915.

Ibi Division.

DONGA.—Head village Donga district. Is situated on the River Donga (right bank) at the limit of steamer navigation. Small steamers of the Niger Company's "Benue" type can navigate the river to Donga for about four months of the year. The three firms trading at Ibi have branches here. Station of Sudan United Mission. A fine view of the Takum Hills is obtained from the Rest house which is situated on the hill at the back of the town.

IBI.—Provincial and Divisional Headquarters with Postal and Telegraph Office. Trading centre. The Niger Company, John Holt, and Tin Areas of Nigeria have trading stores. The British Cotton Growing Association have a ginnery and buying station. The Field Secretary of the Sudan United Mission resides close to the town. Ibi has been a European Station since 1883.

TAKUM. Head village Takum district. Is a flourishing little market town.

WUKARI.—Head town Wukari district and chief town of the remnant of the old Jukum power of Kororofa. The Sudan United Mission have a station, and in 1917 the Freed Slaves Home was transferred from Rumasha (Umaisha), Nassarawa Province.

ARAFU.—Wukari District. Antimony (galena) industry.

AKWANA.—Wukari District. Salt industry.

Tshendam Division.

AWÉ.—Head village of Kassan Chikki district (Sangarin Awe). Is centre of salt industry.

TSHENDAM.—Head village Ankwe district. The Société des Missions Africaines de Lyon has been established at Tshendam since 1907.

TUXGA.—On the Benue, Kassan Chikki district. Niger Company store.

WASE.—Head town Wase district. Originally built as a Fulani outpost about 1820. Is a walled town, picturesque and almost oriental in appearance.

VI. POPULATION.

(a) EUROPEAN.

European officials in the Province seldom number more than 7. Trading company agents number about 7. Sudan United Mission 14 (half this number ladies). Roman Catholic Mission 3. Total 31.

(b) NATIVE.

Fulani ...	...	...	...	...	34,237	
Hausa ...	...	...	...	...	8,503	
Nupe ...	...	...	...	...	200	
Bayin Fulani ...	...	...	...	...	7,087	
Beriberi ...	...	...	...	...	1,178	
					—	51,205 Mohammedans.
Jukun ...	...	...	...	...	11,371	
Yergam ...	...	...	...	...	14,161	
Mumuye ...	...	...	...	...	23,000	
Wurkum ...	...	...	...	...	29,447	
Daka ...	...	...	...	...	4,296	
Jan ...	...	...	...	...	5,000	
Kam ...	...	...	...	...	2,300	
Wurbo... ..	...	...	...	...	2,000	
Ankwe... ..	...	...	...	...	12,262	
Dinmuk ...	...	...	...	...	8,850	
Montol... ..	...	...	...	...	8,827	
Mirriam ...	...	...	...	...	8,245	
Burma ...	...	...	...	...	2,895	
Zumper ...	...	...	...	...	8,661	
Dinyi ...	...	...	...	...	3,382	
Kentu ...	...	...	...	...	2,771	
Igabe ...	...	...	...	...	1,121	
					—	148,589 Pagans,
Unclassified ...	...	...	...	...	18,473	18,473
						<hr/>
Total ...	...	...	...	...		<u>218,267</u>

VII. ROADS.

The principal towns and villages are connected by well cleared native roads with wooden bridges and there are canoe ferries on the larger streams. A beginning has also been made with stone culverts. Some of these roads are suitable in the dry season for motor bicycles. There are no motor cars yet in the Province.

PRINCIPAL TRADE ROUTES.

1. From Bauchi and the north-east viâ Wase and Inshar
 - a.* to Ibi.
 - b.* to Damshin, Biembiem and Awe, the chief salt producing district.
2. From the north viâ Chip (Bauchi Province), Kwolla, Kirgwi to Biembiem, where it merges with 1 *b.*

In the dry season there is also a direct track from Kirgwi viâ Bakin Chiawa to Awe which is used by numerous traders.

3. From Ibi south viâ Wukari.
 - a.* to Katsina Ala (Munshi Province) and the southern Provinces.
 - b.* (i) ditto viâ Takum.
(ii) viâ Takum and Kasimbila (in the dry season only) to Southern Provinces.
 - c.* to Takum and Bamenda (Cameroons).

MINOR TRADE ROUTES.

4. From north-east viâ Bashar to Wase where it joins 1.
5. From Tshendam, etc., viâ Kirgwi and Namu to Lafia (Nassarawa Province), etc., in the west.
6. From Ibi
 - a.* east viâ Jibu to Muri Emirate.
 - b.* south-east viâ Yakola and Bantaji to Bakundi (Muri Emirate) and Cameroons.
 - c.* viâ Wukari and Donga to Kentu and Bamenda (Cameroons).
7. From east and south-east viâ Wukari, to Arafu and Akwana.
8. From Akwana and Arafu joining up with Awe, across the Benue.

MILEAGE OF CHIEF ROADS.

IBI AND TSHENDAM DIVISIONS.

	Miles.
Ibi to Doka (Jos Road) via Inshar	72
Ibi to Jibu (Jalingo Road)	18
Ibi to Bakundi border, via Bantaji	54
Ibi to Takum and Kentu border	95
Awe to Abinsi border	10
Awe to Arafu	20
Awe to Wase via Inshar	90
Donga River Kentu to Donga	50
Donga River Kentu to Kwossa	50
Wase to Dampar	45
Wase to Langtang and Tshendam	45
Wukari to Akwana (Abinsi Road)	30
Wukari to Katsina Ala border	10
Wukari to Suntai (Bakundi Road)	48
	<hr/>
	637

MURI DIVISION.

	Miles.
Bakundi to Gashaka border	25
Bakundi to Ibi border... ..	25
Bakundi to Kwossa	50
Bakundi to Mutum Biu	55
Bakundi to Suntai (Wukari Road)	22
Jalingo to Jibu (Ibi Road)	104
Jalingo to Lau	25
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	306
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	943
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Details of some of the above and one or two others:—

Ibi-Jos (to Bauchi border).

	Intermediate distances.	Total distances.
Ibi	—	—
S. Kudu	5	5
Kuka	13	18
Yamini	5	23
Lakushi	3	26
Ajikamai	7	33
Inshar	9	42
Tshendam	9	51
Gidan Makama... ..	12	63
Doka	9	72

Ibi-Wase-Bashar (see 1 a. and 4 above).

Ibi (see No. 1)	—	—
Inshar	42	42
Garkawa... ..	14	56
Wase	16	72
Bashar	22	94

Wase-Awe-Tunga (see 1 b. above.)

	Intermediate distances.						Total distances.
Wase	—						—
Garkawa... ..	16						16
Inshar	14						30
Kalum (N. E. of River)	9						39
Damshin (S.W. of River)	5						44
Biembem (no R.H.)	9						53
Akiri (no R.H.)... ..	13						66
Azara	7						73
Awe	17						90
Tunga	20						110

Tshendam-Namu (see 5 above).

Tshendam	—						—
Kirgwi	16						16
Kwande	7						23
Namu	15						38

Wase-Yergam-Montol-Doka.

Wase	—						—
Gidan Sarkin Gani	13						13
Gidan Sarkin Brodt	5						18
Kufyam	4						22
Langtang	15						37
Lalin	20						57
Piappu	14						71
Doka	6						77

Ibi-Takum (see 3 b. above).

Ibi	—						—
Rafin Soja	9						9
Wukari	14						23
Rafin Kadda	13						36
Chanchangi	15						51
Takum	18						69

Ibi-Donga (see 6 c. above).

Ibi (see No. 6)	—						—
Wukari	23						23
Donga	24						47

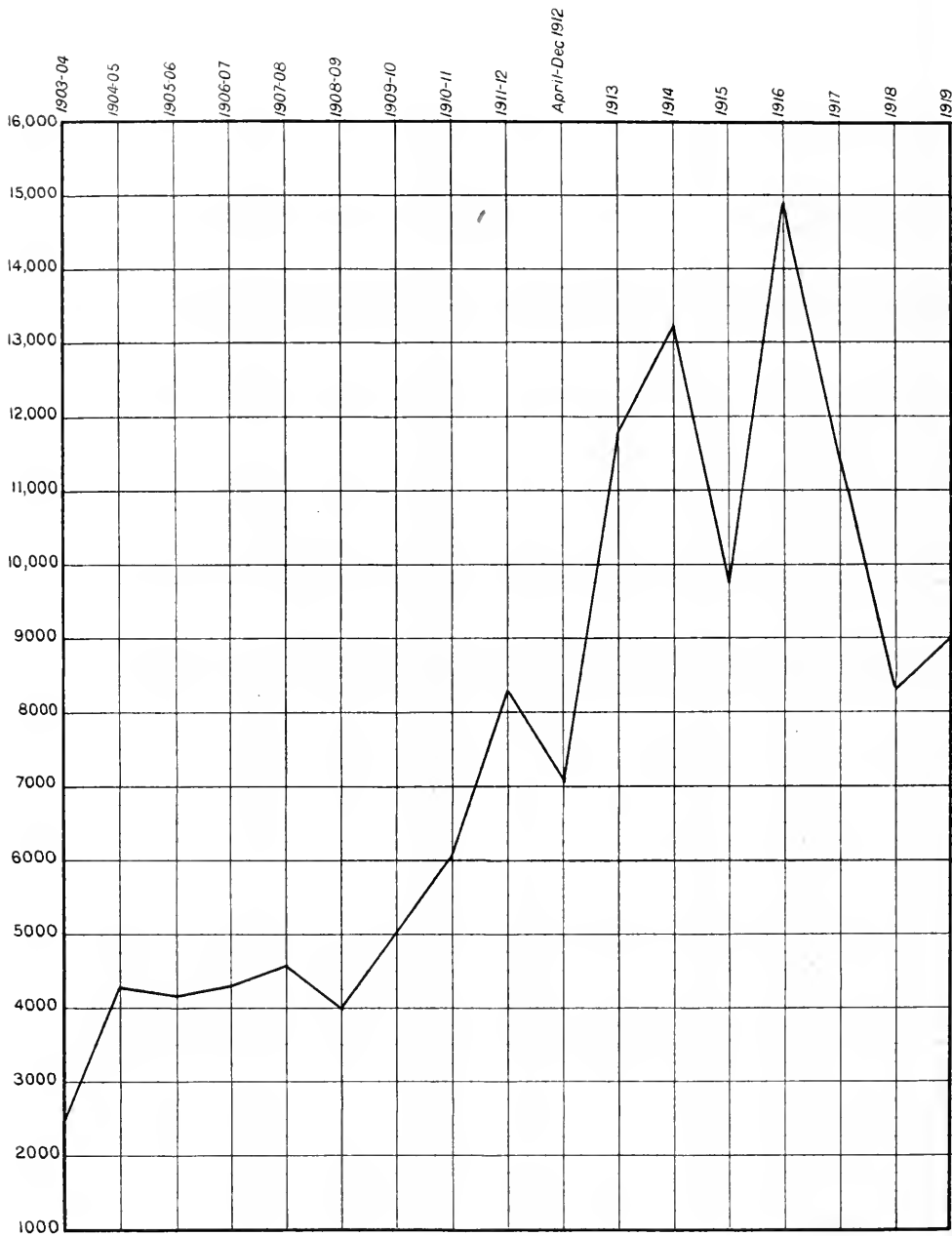
VIII. RESIDENTS.

SUBSTANTIVE RESIDENTS.

W. P. Hewby, January, 1900—August, 1902.
 Dr. F. Cargill, November, 1902—January, 1904.
 R. Popham Lobb, May, 1904—February, 1905.
 W. F. Gowers, September, 1905—April, 1906.
 Captain F. H. Ruxton, October, 1906—December, 1913.
 J. M. Fremantle, June, 1914—September, 1918.
 Captain G. Anderson, February, 1919—October, 1919.
 E. G. M. Dupigny, November, 1919—

Officers who have been in charge (substantive and acting) of the Province:—

Date.	Name.	Rank.	Remarks.
1900	W. P. Hewby.	Resident.	
1901	W. P. Hewby.	"	January, 1900 - August, 1902.
1902	Dr. F. Cargill.	"	September - October.
1903	Capt. F. H. Ruxton.	"	November, 1902 - January, 1904.
1904	J. A. Ley Greaves.	Acting.	February - May.
	R. Popham Lobb.	Resident.	May, 1904 - July, 1905.
1905	H. L. Norton-Smith.	Acting.	August - September.
	W. F. Gowers.	Resident.	September - April, 1906.
1906	K. V. Elphinstone.	Acting.	April - July.
	Capt. C. F. Gordon.	"	July - October.
	" F. H. Ruxton.	Resident.	October - September, 1907.
1907	K. V. Elphinstone.	Acting.	October - May, 1908.
1908	Capt. F. H. Ruxton.	Resident.	May - April, 1909.
1909	" C. F. Rowe.	Acting.	April - July.
	K. V. Elphinstone.	"	July - October.
	Capt. F. H. Ruxton.	Resident.	November - November, 1910.
1910	" C. F. Rowe.	Acting.	November - May, 1911.
1911	" F. H. Ruxton.	Resident.	May - March, 1912.
1912	" C. F. Gordon.	Acting.	April - May.
	E. G. M. Dupigny.	"	May - August.
	Lt. B. E. M. Waters.	"	August - October.
	Major A. E. Churcher.	Acting.	October - November.
	Capt. F. H. Ruxton.	Resident.	November, 1912 - December, 1913.
1913	" C. F. Rowe.	Acting.	December - June, 1914.
1914	J. M. Fremantle.	Resident.	June, 1914 - August, 1915.
1915	A. C. Francis.	Acting.	August - March, 1916.
1916	J. M. Fremantle.	Resident.	March, 1916 - June, 1917.
1917	A. H. Groom.	Acting.	June - August.
	Capt. C. F. Rowe.	"	August - December.
1918	J. M. Fremantle.	Resident.	January - September.
	D. Cator.	Acting.	September - October.
	E. C. Duff.	"	October - February, 1919.
1919	Capt. G. Anderson.	Resident.	February - October.
	E. G. M. Dupigny.	"	November -



IX. REVENUE.

(a) The following table, with chart, shows the Government revenue including that of the Munshi division up to 1917 inclusive:—

₹			£			
1903-4	2,503	April-Dec., 1912	...	7,163
1904-5	4,285	1913	...	11,772
1905-6	4,165	1914	...	13,217
1906-7	4,261	1915	...	9,749
1907-8	4,603	1916	...	14,932
1908-9	4,013	1917	...	11,406
1909-10	5,028	1918	...	8,371
1910-11	6,077	1919	...	9,021
1911-12	8,291			

(b) Comparative table showing total revenue since the institution of native treasuries:—

Government.			Native* Administration.			Total.
£			£			£
1908-9	...	4,013	...	1,750	...	5,763
1909-10	...	5,028	...	1,900	...	6,928
1910-11	...	6,077	...	2,100	...	8,177
1911-12	...	8,291	...	3,100	...	11,391
April-Dec., 1912	...	7,163	...	4,750	...	11,913
1913	...	11,772	...	7,500	...	19,272
1914	...	13,217	...	9,000	...	22,217
1915	...	9,749	...	7,000	...	16,749
1916	...	14,932	...	11,000	...	25,932
1917	...	11,406	...	5,750	...	17,156
1918	...	8,371	...	8,750	...	17,121
1919	...	9,021	...	10,000	...	19,021

NOTE. The decreases in 1915 and in 1917 were due to gradual adjustment to bring the whole of the season's general tax into one financial year, the 1912-13 season's Revenue having been collected in advance. The figures for 1918 and 1919 exclude Munshi.

*Round figures.

X. TAXATION.

Assessment for tribute, as it was then called, began early in 1903, and as there was little or no basis of taxation in existence the assessment was at first carried out without any detailed system, e.g., Ibi was assessed at £100. There was sometimes dilatoriness in paying but, considering the total absence of currency, there were no real difficulties to surmount on the part of the chiefs or people, except in a few cases where there was general lawlessness. They were prepared for taxation in some form and the headmen were agreeably surprised to find that their vassals were to pay through them instead of direct to the Resident as they had expected.

At first, half of the assessment was paid to Government, but the share due to the chiefs, if collected at all, was not completed in any regular manner until they had identified themselves with the system. In 1907 the Native Administration share was a quarter. The share varied in different districts till 1913, when equal division was made, except for Jangali, which was in the proportion of three-fourths to Government and one-fourth to Native Administration. In 1919 the Jangali in all divisions was divided equally between the Government and Native Administration.

Steady progress has been made in the system of taxation, which is a rough income tax from all classes of the community.

The object is to secure, without hardship to the individual, the payment of an income tax not exceeding 10 per cent. of his income.

In the more advanced communities the actual proportion to be paid by the individual is left to the Village Head and "Elders," but in the pagan communities the collection is made on a capitation basis. The Village Head is responsible to the District Head, who in turn pays one half over to the District Officer (in Muri division through the Emir) and the other half into his Native Treasury.

In addition to the above "Jangali" is collected at a fixed rate of 1s. 6d. per head on the Fulani cattle and 1s. per head on the small pagan cattle, and the same procedure is adopted by the District Head as to its disposal.

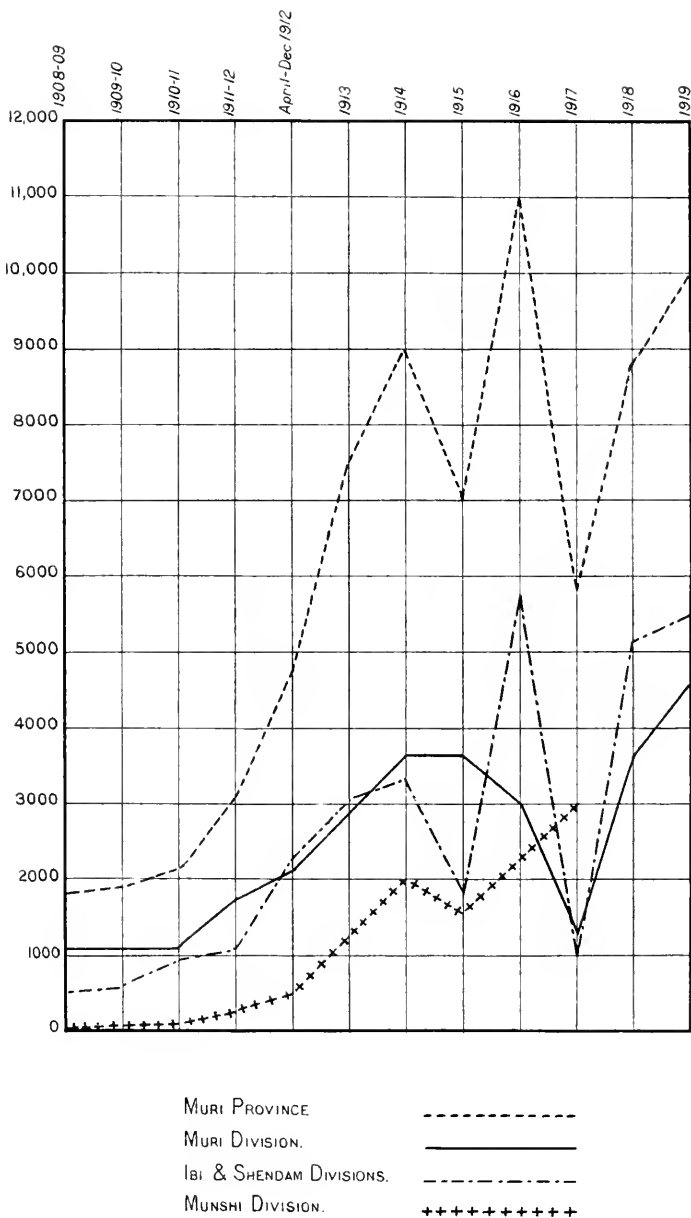
The system of issuing individual receipts has been adopted in principle, but it is only practiced in the case of Jangali payments and for natives who are domiciled in Muri Province for a portion of the year.

The whole revenue is now paid in cash.

The above, viz., income tax and cattle tax, are the only taxes now authorized. Unauthorized taxes have been abolished, also sundry taxes detailed on p. 68.

The incidence of taxation per adult male in the Ibi and Tshendam divisions* is 8s. Mohammedan, 3s. 7d. Pagan, in Muri rather less.

* For the year 1918.



XI. NATIVE TREASURIES.

Though certain sums of money were set aside for the use of the Native Administration as far back as 1907/8, there was but slow development until 1913.

There is one Treasury in the Muri division, that of the Emirate. In 1915 a start was made to decentralize the Ibi Division Native Treasury where the district officer was receiving all revenue and making all disbursements. The district heads appointed local accountants who developed into treasurers on the usual system, but on rather a small scale, seven in number. At the end of 1919 the four Treasuries of Ibi Division south of the Benue were amalgamated into one Native Treasury at Wukari.

A chart is appended showing the Native Administration revenue for each Administrative Division, compare above p. 63 and note.

XII. NATIVE ADMINISTRATION STAFF.

The following shows the chief native officials and their salaries :—

MURI EMIRATE.

Emir	£600
Tukura	£72
District Heads of Gassol, Bakundi, Muri, Wurkum and Mutum Biu	£72 each.
Central Alkali	£84

IBI AND TSHENDAM DIVISIONS.

District Heads, Wase and Ankwe... ..	£200 each.
District Head, Awe	£120
District Heads, Ibi and Wukari	£100 each.
Alkalin Ibi	£60

XIII. MISCELLANEOUS.

(a) MISSIONS.

In September, 1904, Dr. Kumm and three other missionaries of the Sudan United Mission arrived at Ibi and proceeded to Wase. The following year there was considerable friction between the Mission and Sarkin Wase. They extended their operations at different times in 1906 to Wukari, Donga, Ibi, Shemankar, Dampar, and Langtang, although their principal centre remained at Wase. By the end of 1909 the stations at Wase and Dampar had been closed and they were confining their attention to Ibi, Wukari, Donga, and Langtang, all of which were brought under the control of a secretary at Ibi, instead of each being controlled from London.

The section of this Mission that was settled among the Munshi people is now worked as the Dutch Reformed Church Mission, but is in the Munshi Province. There are other sections in neighbouring Provinces.

In 1905 the "World Evangelization Company" (U.S.A.) sent out two prospectors but they did not remain.

In 1907 the Société des Missions Africaines de Lyon established themselves at Tshendam, and two years later extended their operations to Damshin, an Ankwe town about 20 miles to the south of Tshendam. This latter station was closed down during the first two years of the war.

(b) NATIVE COURTS.

Some of the Native Courts were instituted in 1900. They were re-organized in 1906, the majority of them having an Alkali as president and the district chief as a member. During 1915-1916 the Alkalai Courts in the pagan districts were abolished and replaced by Native Courts under the presidency of the District Head.

The following are the Native Courts in the province:—

MURI DIVISION.

						Grade.
Emir's Judicial Council	...	...	...	...	...	B
Central Alkali Court	...	...	...	...	...	B
Mutum Biu Alkali Court	...	...	...	...	...	C
Lau Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	C
Gassol Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	D
Bakundi Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	D
Muri Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	C
Kena Native	"	...	...	...	...	D
Wurkum Native	"	...	...	...	...	D

IBI AND TSHENDAM DIVISIONS.

								Grade.
Ankwe Native Court	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	C
Awe Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	C
Awe Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	C
Donga Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	D
Ibi Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	B
Ibi Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	D
Takum Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	D
Wase Alkali	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	C
Wase Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	C
Wukari Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	D
Bashar Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	D
Langtang Native	"	...	...	...	...	...	...	D

(c) TAXES NO LONGER ENFORCED.

CUSTOMS.—Customs stations were first set up at Takum and Bakundi in March, 1903, in charge of native collectors. The tariff on ivory was 2*d.* per lb., on rubber 3*d.* per 10 lb., and on kola nuts 2*s.* per 100 lb.

These stations were closed in September, 1907, as they were not paying for their upkeep, but were revived a few months later with a native malam in charge, and so continued until they were finally closed on the outbreak of war in 1914.

CARAVAN TOLLS were instituted at Ibi and Sinkai on 1st April, 1903, subsequently at Wase and Tunga, the latter taking the place of Sinkai. The value of the trade passing through the toll stations during the next year was estimated at £30,000 to £40,000. In 1907 these tolls were abolished.

CANOES.—Canoe licences were started in February, 1903. They were abolished in 1907.

HAWKERS.—Licences were started in October, 1903, for petty traders (excluding sellers of meat). They were abolished in 1913.

NATIVE LIQUOR.—Licences were enforced in 1903 at the rate of £5 per annum, and these survived, though at a much lower fee, down to the beginning of 1911.

(d) TELEGRAPH.

The telegraph line from Keffi runs through Kassan Chikki on the west crossing the Benue at Sinkai and running thence in an east-north-easterly direction with an eight mile loop when opposite Ibi and crosses the River Donga at Yakola and the River Taraba at Sendirdi to Mutum Biu; thence it passes to Lau, where there is a telegraph office, and to Numan and Yola.

The construction of the original line from Lokoja to Ibi via Loko and Akwanaja was arrested in 1900 by the hostility of the Munshi and diverted from Loko via Keffi to avoid the Munshi country. The telegraph entered Muri province in 1903 and was

completed almost to Yola during the next year. The Lokoja-Loko section was dismantled in 1908 and direct communication established with Minna through Keffi.

(c) THE WAR.

Cameroon campaign from outbreak of war to fall of Garua and subsequently so far as it affected Muri province.

War was declared against Germany on 4th August, 1914, and the news was received in the province next day.

In 1914 the Muri Province comprised three Administrative Divisions, viz., Muri, Ibi, and Munshi (since 1918 amalgamated with Bassa province), the southern borders of which were contiguous with the Cameroons for a distance of about 220 miles between Long. 9.30 E. and 11.40 E.

The corresponding region in the Cameroons comprised three districts, viz., Banyo, Bamenda, and Ossadinge, of which this last was under civil administration. The Bamenda and Banyo districts were divided geographically by mountains and an uninhabited region. On the outbreak of war the Bamenda district had military posts at

Kentu, leading to the Takum-Ibi road, an important route;

Gaiama, leading to the Kasimbila-Katsena Allah-Obudu road, a minor trade route used chiefly in the dry season;

and Banyo district had posts at

Garbabi, leading to the Bakundi-Mutum Biu road;

Alkassom, east of Garbabi.

The Ossadinge district, which touched the border, had no military posts and gave little cause for anxiety. Later on both the first named districts placed other outposts near the frontier.

From the very beginning intelligence had to be received with extreme caution. Intrepidity and enterprise amongst all classes and tribes of natives was rare; a great deal of false intelligence was due to a love of boasting, of notoriety and also to fear and imagination. False information was spread by both sides.

At the beginning of August, 1914, the armed forces in the province consisted of one company, Nigeria Regiment, at Abinsi, which left for Yola immediately, and 78 police, half of whom were available for the frontier. It is probable that the enemy only had about 100 men in their Bamenda district. A police post was established at Bakundi under Mr. Soper, A.C.P., with 16 men, and another at Kasimbila, under Lt.-Commander B. E. M. Waters, R.N., D.O., which at the end of the month accompanied the Resident, Mr. J. M. Fremantle, to Gaiama, just across the

border, but after four days retired to Takum, where Major A. E. Churcher, D.O., had established himself and surrounded the town with a chain of small blockhouses.

The Resident returned to Ibi, and the joint police force, now numbering 57 men, remained at Takum until on 17th September they were attacked by an enemy force of about 70 soldiers and a machine gun, their intention, it seems, being to advance on Ibi. The attack was successfully repelled without loss on our side but the enemy lost one European officer and about six men killed. The same night the police evacuated Takum and withdrew to Chanchangi, on the Ibi road. The Germans also retired to Kentu. This was the first British success in the northern campaign.

The first intimation of this engagement received at Ibi, well enough authenticated, had been news of a serious reverse. Preparations had accordingly been made to evacuate the station, and partial evacuation had been carried out when reassuring news was received by the Resident from the Takum officers who had been delayed in sending a message. They asked urgently for reinforcements. Previous arrangements in event of such necessity having been made with the Commandant, a company with two machine guns came from Yola under Capt. B. C. Parr. Details also were collected from Abinsi and Benue Bridge with all available Europeans, and another company soon afterwards arrived from Lokoja. The defence of the frontier, which up till then had been in the hands of the Resident, was gradually taken over by the officer commanding the "Ibi column."

At the end of October Major Mann assumed command of the column, which numbered about 500 men (troops and police) and two guns, and he made Ibi his headquarters.

The enemy had now occupied about 500 square miles of the Muri division. Bakundi had been evacuated by the small police post and re-occupied. In November an attempt to dislodge the enemy at Gazabu between Bakundi and the frontier failed, the divisional officer, Mr. H. Q. Glenny, D.O., being mortally wounded. Major Mann shortly afterwards drove the enemy across the frontier and shelled Garbabi; he then had to return to Takum to co-operate with Col. Mair, Ikon column, but this advance did not take place owing to that from Duala railhead being stayed.

The east portion of the frontier became of increasing importance in contrast to the west where there was no more menace, and movements were gravitating towards Garua. Capt. Green assumed command in February and Major Mann proceeded to Yola.

In December a company stationed at Bakundi advanced and established itself at Beli, a few miles from the German position of Gazabu. It was attacked on 4th February, 1915, but the enemy were driven off.

A police post had been established for some months at Kasimbila. Early in 1915 an outpost was established at Tissa, about 20 miles south of Donga.

Troops and supplies from time to time passed through the Province, mostly by river, en route Yola and Garua, including a naval gun which was poled up the river, some of the way without escort, at a critical period.

On 12th April, 1915, Mutum Biu was raided by a party of about forty German soldiers with several Europeans and two Maxims from Banyo who came through Alkassom and the Kam district. The station was evacuated just in time and the Emir of Muri also escaped across the river. No material damage was done to the town but the Government station was completely wrecked and seven or eight miles of telegraph line destroyed. The raiders then withdrew by a more easterly route than that by which they had come. A company en route to Yola remained there for a fortnight until relieved by a detachment of police under Major R. F. E. Ellis, A.C.P., who patrolled the vicinity. The police were in turn relieved a month later by another company of soldiers. The Resident's responsibility for defence, which till then had still been his in this section of the frontier, now passed to Capt. Green, who transferred his headquarters to Mutum Biu in May. The fall of Garua in June relieved the situation all along the Muri frontier.

Shortly afterwards Major Mann returned from Yola and again formed a column (Ibi column) at Mutum Biu, Capt. Green becoming his staff officer.

Garbabi was occupied the same month without opposition and a company pushed on to Abashishir, Dan Barua, and Barua. The enemy had an outpost on a strong position about five miles north of Barua but retired before our troops came up. Slight opposition was encountered at the river Kam, 11 miles south of Barua, and at the river Gangan, at Gashaka. The enemy had, in fact, gradually withdrawn their posts after the fall of Garua, and when the British entered Gashaka in August, that town was not occupied at first. The column withdrew to Barua, leaving an outpost at the river Kam.

In September Major Mann joined forces with Capt. Parr from Takum and occupied Kentu after a small engagement at Talua. Major Mann then proceeded to Gashaka and thence to Ibi to organise the move on Banyo.

In October the forward move on Banyo, under General Cunliffe, was commenced, whilst other columns were operating on the Koncha-Banyo and other routes. Gandua was occupied without opposition by means of a flanking movement, thus leaving the entrance to the Banyo plateau in our hands. Banyo was reached two days later and Banyo hill was taken by assault on 6th November after severe fighting lasting three days and three nights.

in which we lost two officers, one B.N.C.O. killed and two officers and between 50 and 60 rank and file wounded. The Germans lost their Commander (killed) and ten others surrendered.

After the fall of Banyo, General Cunliffe advanced south. In January, 1916, owing to the difficulties of communications and obtaining of supplies, he removed his headquarters to Fumbam, thus marking the end of hostilities so far as Muri Province was concerned.

By the middle of February the Germans crossed the border into Spanish Muni and the campaign came to an end. Shortly afterwards the troops which formed the Northern Column began to return mostly via Ibi. By the middle of March all that remained were one company at Banyo and detachments at Koncha, Gashaka, and Garbabi. Towards the end of March Banyo was evacuated and early in the following month it was handed over to the French. Major Archer, commanding the British troops, moved to Barua in preference to Gashaka and Garbabi but the detachment at the latter place was soon withdrawn to Gashaka. In September there were neither military nor civil officials left in this part of the Cameroons.

In November, 1916, the Gashaka district was incorporated into the Muri division for administrative purposes and an area of about 1,000 square miles, west of Gashaka district and north of Kentu with parallel 7° N. as the boundary, into the Ibi division. In August, 1917, Gashaka was transferred to Koncha (administered by Yola Province), and the Kentu area to Bamenda (Bamenda Province, Cameroons).

POLITICAL EFFECT.—The natives were rather puzzled at first but finally considered the quarrel was between two European nations and no concern of their own. The Emir of Muri and some of the more advanced chiefs subsequently began to look upon the war from its imperial side. The natives in the area of hostilities suffered less damage than they would have in an inter-tribal war, and they fully realized that no slaves would be taken. Enemy efforts to stir up Mohammedan feeling by proclamations, letters, and leaflets were carried out in a bungling way and proved fruitless.

CONTRIBUTIONS, ETC.—In 1915 the Emir of Muri contributed £800 from his Treasury to war expenses and another £500 in 1916 (since refunded) together with £100 for the relief of disabled Nigerian troops.

In 1915 subscriptions from officials and non-officials, both European and native, brought in sufficient to supply all the troops including police in the Province, to the number of about 600, with kola nuts, and all the carriers with cattle, besides other presents for non-commissioned officers. The Emir of Muri and Sarkin Ankwe gave similar presents after the fall of Garua (see pp. 20 and 45). Subscriptions were collected during the war for ten different funds aggregating £1,187.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM NORTHERN NIGERIAN REPORT FOR 1904 (see p. 52).

MURL.

. . . . The pagan tribes in the north of the Province are lawless cannibals, who, by constant outrages and murders of traders (culminating in the murder of a Government agent sent to expostulate with them), have long rendered the main trade route to Bauchi unsafe. The three main trade routes, viz., from the salt district at Awe, from the kola growing centres of Kentu and Bafum in the Kameruns, and from Gashaka via Amar (cattle), converge at Wase. Various expeditions had been sent to protect these routes, but at the end of 1903 the Fulani settlement at Wase was practically cut off from Yelua, and six traders had been robbed and murdered. In March, 1904, I therefore sent a powerful expedition against the Garkawa, Yergams and Montols the expedition was under Captain Shortt, and was accompanied by Mr. Vischer (Assistant Resident), who saved the life of a native soldier by sucking the poison from his arrow wound. The operations lasted a month The mountainous country which these tribes inhabit was traversed, and they made their submission to the political officer and paid the fines, amounting to £460, which were imposed upon them. I trust that the capture of their fastnesses, which they had supposed to be impregnable, the heavy fine inflicted, the deposition of the chiefs responsible, the destruction of two brigand bands who terrorised the country and defied the authority of the chiefs, and, above all, the careful explanation of the reason of the expedition and the prompt rendition of all captives, will have a permanent effect, both in proving to the people that Government orders to cease from robbery and murder cannot be disregarded with impunity, and that Government action is not prompted by the same motives as Fulani raids. The chiefs of Borot and Langtang were deposed Friendly relations were opened with the tribes, and during the last seven months there has not been a single outrage, while the Yergam women now frequent the market of Wase, which had up to now been regarded by them as a centre of Fulani oppression, where pagans would be certain to be seized as slaves.

Though strong measures are necessary for the suppression of continued crime, my sympathies are largely with those ignorant pagans, whose attacks on traders are often prompted by a natural retaliation for the enslavement of their relatives. But the result of such operations is to bring the chiefs and elders face to face with British officers, and they learn for the first time that a new power actuated by different motives, has arisen, and that while its orders must be obeyed, redress can now be obtained against slave-traders and persons practising extortion and robbery.

INDEX.

	PAGE
Abubakr Emir	18
Administrative Divisions	2
Amar	2, 26, 40
Anderson, Capt.	62
Ankwe	43, 51, 73
Ankwe Angaras	46
Antimony	54
Arafu	4, 10, 36, 39, 54
Archer, Major	72
Area of Province	5
Arnold, Lieut.	9, 11, 14
Awe	34, 37, 52, 53
Baikie, Dr.	28
Bakundi	10, 20, 67, 70
	<i>See</i> Burba.
Bamenda	69
Bantaji	31, 38
Banyo	69, 71
Barth, Dr.	33
Bashar	47
Bauchi	5, 43
„ Emir Yakubu	27, 29, 44
	47, 48
Bayaro	11, 38, 46
Bornu	33
Boyd, C. E.	4
Bryan, Lt.	9, 14
Burba Yero	16, 34
Burba	17, 20, 34, 38, 42
Bwol	46
Cameroons	41, 42, 69
Cargill, Dr.	9, 12, 19, 62
Cator, D.	62
Chamba	20, 41
Charts	63, 65
Churcher, Major	40, 62, 70
Courts, Native	67
Crowther, Bishop	38
Cunliffe, General	71
Dakka	21
Dampar	9, 29

	PAGE
Dankoro	10, 13, 38
Dimmuk	46
Dinyi	41
Districts	2, 3
Divisions. Administrative	2
Donga	38, 39, 41
Duna, Lamido	8, 31, 38
Dupigny, E. G. M.	62
Duff, E. C.	62
Ellis, Major	71
Elphinstone, K. V.	28, 62
Engelbach, Lieut.	13
Ewart, Major	11
Feneran, Lieut.	28, 44, 47
Festing, Lieut.	9, 13
Fitzpatrick, J. F.	44
Flegel, Herr	6
Foreign Intrigues	6
Francis, A. C.	62
Fremantle, J. M.	41, 62, 69
Fulani	37, 51
Garbabi	70, 71
Garkawa	51, 73
Garua	70
Gashaka	3, 71, 72
Gassol	22
Gazargamo	33
Glenny, H. E.	70
Goldie, Sir G.	5
Gordon, Capt.	62
Gowers, W. F.	62
Greaves, J. A. L.	62
Griffiths	10
Groom, A. H.	62, 70
Gworom	46
Hamadu, Emir	17, 18, 22, 38
Haman, 3rd Emir	17
Haman, 9th Emir	6, 11, 19, 72
Hamarua	17, 24
Hassan, Emir	6, 19, 26, 27

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PAGE

46, 73

28

11

15, 16

14, 27

9, 68

25

6-28

17

nan,

Nya.

1, 71

66

66

65

16

62

38

2

14

70

5

58

Population 58

Porba. Chief 10, 42

Puje 32, 34, 35, 52

Raba Sarkin 17

Rabeh 5

Residents, List of 62

Revenue 63

Roads 59

Rose, Lieut. 10

Rowe, Capt. 62

Ruxton, Capt. 19, 39, 44, 62

Salt Industry 53

Shishi 6, 8

Shortt, Capt. 73

Skinner, Lieut. 9, 14

Soper 69

Spink, F. J. 5

Sulimanu of Wase 30, 49

Suntai 9, 38, 39, 41

Form L9-75m-7, '61 (C1437s4) 444

Kobri 10

Kororofa 9, 49

Kwolla 20, 32, 33, 44, 52

Kwona 2, 44, 45

Lafia 23

Lafia 49

„ Sarki 46

Lau 2, 24

Lennard 10

Lobb, R. P. 62

Maltby, F. E. 45, 46

Mann, Major 70

Marmon 12, 13

McIntosh 5, 10, 11, 28, 41

Miriam 46

Missau 37

Missions 56, 66

Mizon, Lieut. 7, 24, 33

Molony, Capt. 8, 11

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